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JULY 7, 1978

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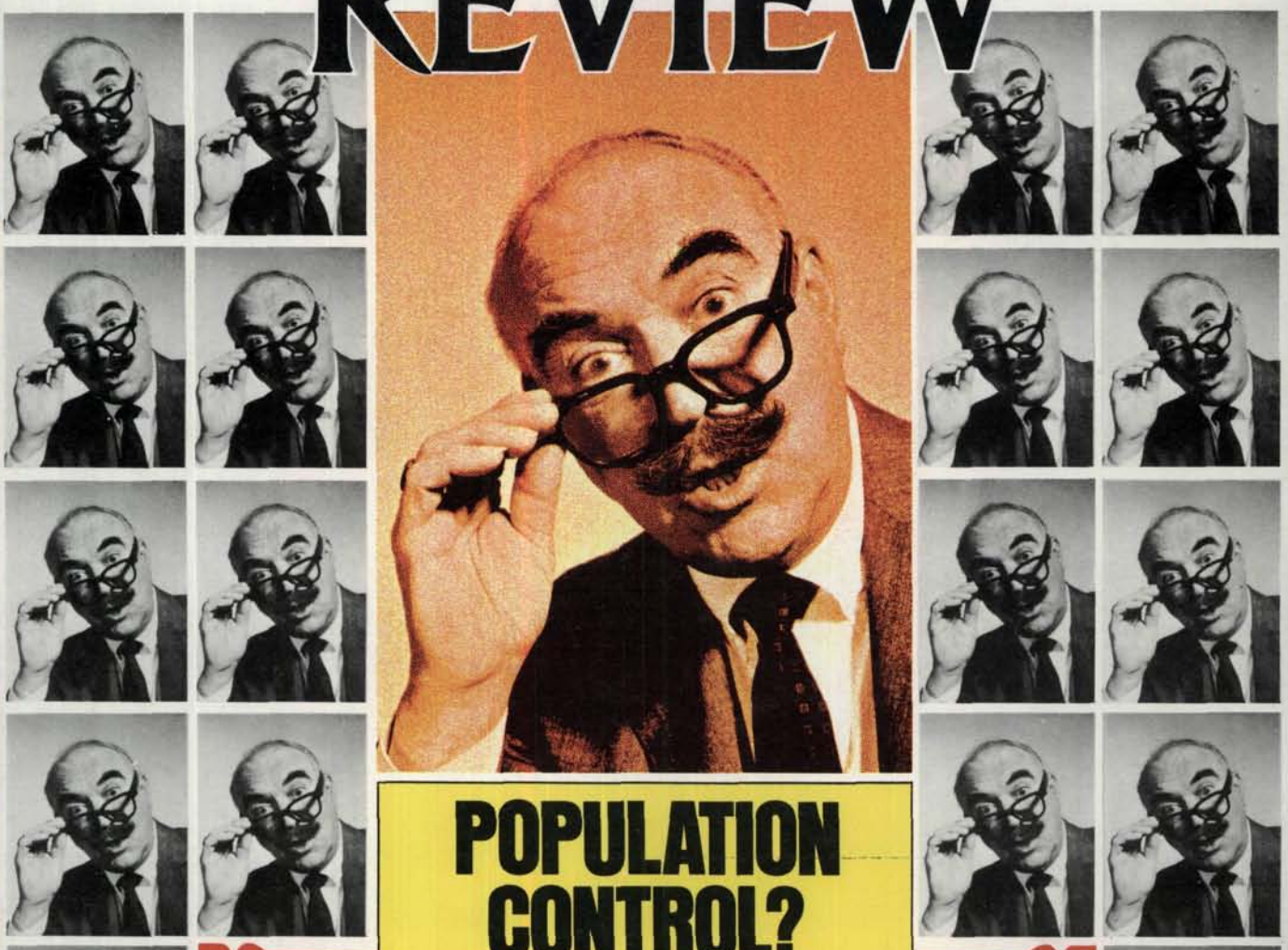
NATIONAL REVIEW



POPULATION CONTROL?

Clare Boothe Luce Announces:

ONLY WOMEN HA... BABIES!

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Also In This Issue:

EGALITARIANISM IN AMERICA

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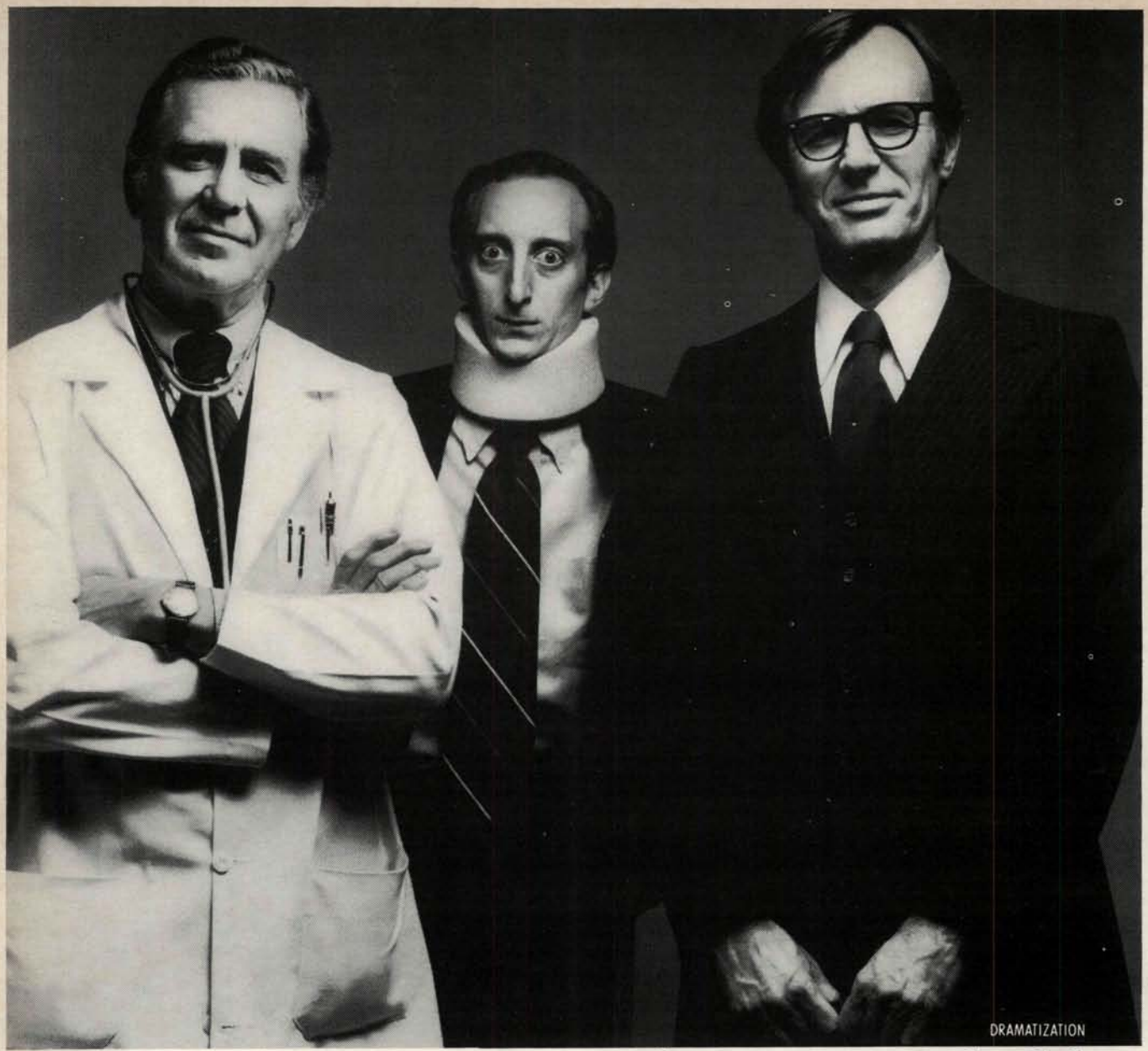

The man in the middle just won a big award.

This is the true story of the victim of an automobile accident[1] Let's call him Phil.

A jury has finally[2] awarded Phil $12,000 for his losses (and the court tacked on $1,160 for costs), so why isn't *he* smiling?

Watch closely as the tort system gobbles up that $13,160:

Phil's lawyer (at right) takes $6,450 off the top.[3]

Dr. A (at left) gets $600 in witness fees. (He charged only $425

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for treating Phil in the first place—in this crazy system you sometimes make more by telling a court what you did than you make by actually *doing* it.)

Doctors B and C take $325 more in witness fees and another $470 or so falls through the cracks, leaving Phil with a check for $5,311[4]—nearly three years after his accident.

Now a system that used up 3 years and $8,000 to put $5,300 into a victim's hands may strike you as unwieldy. And Ætna agrees.

State by state, we're supporting strong, workable "no-fault" auto insurance plans.[5] Where no-fault isn't in the cards, we think compulsory arbitration can help get most cases settled faster and more economically.

Lawyers' contingent fees should be better controlled. And, where appropriate, victims' payments should be made periodic, rather than in one lump sum which some outlive and others never need.

Passing the laws to reform this system is slow, frustrating work, but it is the key to controlling auto insurance costs. Don't underestimate your own influence with your elected representatives. Use it as we are trying to use ours.

Ætna wants insurance to be affordable.

[1]We've taken poetic license and put a neck brace on Phil, although his actual injuries didn't require it.

[2]Nearly three years passed between Phil's accident and his award. Such time lags are often a cause of grave hardship, and are a strong indictment of the present tort system. Chief Justice Warren Burger put it this way: "The business of involving the judicial process to dispose of an automobile accident is an expensive and cumbersome method that should be abandoned, as we did with industrial-injury claims long ago."

[3]Lawyers handling liability cases generally charge a "contingent fee"—a percentage of the award paid to the victim (the percentage may be as high as 50%). Phil's lawyer claimed 40% of the jury award for his fee plus $1,650 for certain costs advanced. He later advised the press that he had reduced his fee.

[4]In other words, only 44% of the jury award actually reached the victim. More than half was consumed by the costs of an inefficient system—costs which are reflected in the premiums of insurance buyers.

[5]"No-Fault" is first-party protection. Your insurance covers *your own* medical expenses and lost wages; the losses of whomever you hit (or get hit by) are covered by *his* insurance. No-fault has enormous potential for speeding and simplifying claim payments and controlling the cost of auto insurance. Unfortunately, the no-fault laws in many states (including the state where Phil lived) have so many loopholes that they fail to keep most claims out of court. Ætna supports the passage of federal guidelines which would require states to enact strong laws with real consumer protection.

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NATIONAL REVIEW

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VOL. XXX, No. 27
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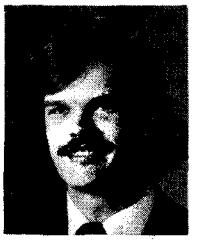
LUCE
Page 824

DAVENPORT
Page 844

NASH
Page 832

SOLZHENITSYN
Page 836



BROOKHISER
Page 835

SOBRAN
Page 845

ARTICLES & COLUMNS

823 **Growing Pains**
As with Panama and Israel, our special relationship with Taiwan must be, if not dropped, then absorbed into a new geopolitical framework. *James Burnham*

824 **Only Women Have Babies**
The world's population is increasing exponentially; not so its resources. Every woman is capable of bearing from 12 to twenty children. How—apart from abortion, infanticide, genocide, war, and natural disasters—can the tide be depressed? *Clare Boothe Luce*

828 **When to Call the Election?**
In many ways, social conservatism and free-market economics are Britain's wave of the future. The question is whether that future can be realized. *Anthony Lejeune*

832 **Egalitarianism in America**
American voters have often chosen, albeit mistakenly, policies and measures to promote an equity they have seen as lacking in free-market distribution. But they are now shrinking from all-out, coercive equality, and they perceive the welfare state as more corrupt than the free-enterprise system. Conservatives have a promising but precarious opportunity; herein some strategic recommendations. *George Nash*

835 **Mr. A. Goes to Youngstown**
Revisionist historian turned economist turned "activist," Gar Alperovitz has been making the rounds from Ohio to the White House. *Richard Brookhiser*

836 **A World Split Apart**
This year's Harvard commencement address has excited more comment than any such speech in many years. Unfortunately, quotation, summary, and excerpt have badly misrepresented it—sometimes willfully—as an attack on press freedom and rock music, even as a call for theocracy. This is the full text. In our next issue we will offer our own comments. *Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn*

842 **Who Shall Write the Law?**
Gun control has repeatedly lost in Congress, but our sovereign bureaucrats have done their best to outfox republican government. *M. Stanton Evans*

BOOKS ARTS & MANNERS

844 **Seeing Shelley Plain**
Donald's Hall's *Remembering Poets: Reminiscences and Opinions* confides stylish gossip about Eliot, Pound, Frost, and Dylan Thomas. *Guy Davenport*

845 **Inventing Jefferson**
Garry Wills has forsaken cruel caricature to give us a fine portrait of the author of that *other* Declaration. *M. J. Sobran Jr.*

848 **Das Kapital**
Irving Kristol and Donald Devine work up, between them, five cheers for capitalism. *John Chamberlain*

849 **Taking Watergate Seriously**
Philip Kurland ponders *Watergate and the Constitution.* *Irving Younger*

850 **What Is He?**
He's Saul Steinberg, and he is to art what Charlie Chaplin was to comedy. *Ruth Berenson*

851 **A Day for Soviet Jewry**
Thoughts after a demonstration of support. *D. Keith Mano*

806 **Letters**
812 **For the Record**
813 **The Week**
830 **Help**
853 **Dark Horses**
856 **On the Right**
858 **Trans-O-Gram**

Cover photo from H. Armstrong Roberts

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Letters

From Camelot to Phnom Penh

Conservatives who were of the age of reason during the Sixties shouldn't have needed anyone to tell us now what Norman Hannah has told us ["Nixon + Watergate = Communist Indochina," June 23]; but, such being the way memory works, we do. In fact, I imagine the whole Sixties muddle was clearer to us at the time, just because we saw it then as a muddle. But in retrospect, we tend to separate out the various strands, not seeing how they were intertwined.

Looking back, we see the legitimate civil-rights movement turning into black racism. We see the "new morality" at work on the campuses. We see the kids, motivated at least partly by fear of the draft, and the Ellsbergs, motivated by whatever complex of passions, trying to bring the Indochina war to an end. We see that war being fought in such a way that we could not possibly win, even if we had not immediately lost. We see the Supreme Court retreating into a sort of mindless legalism (which, as Hannah's analysis implies, is what permitted much of the rest of it to happen). And we see Johnson and his credibility gap, giving way to Nixon and his dirty tricks. But we don't see each of these as contributing to the virulence of the others. Hannah does see it that way, and provides the nexus: "Inverting the old proverbs of friends and enemies, the militants behaved as if they considered that 'my government's friend must be my enemy and its enemy my friend.' . . . In a mirror image of this perversion, Mr. Nixon saw the 'other side' as a violent agglomeration of opponents whose actions (whatever the intent) effectively aligned them with the nation's enemy."

Nixon still has to take the blame for his own actions—both Watergate and the Paris Peace Conference. But it is fascinating—and a point of justice—to see how much his two predecessors contributed not only to his downfall, but, for example, to the holocaust in Cambodia today.

STANLEY HILLSBOROUGH
Washington, D.C.

The Nazis & Co.

On the article "Marching through Skokie," by Hadley Arkes [May 12]: I think the American Civil Liberties Union has a bad case of seared conscience. The ACLU's amoral (polite for immoral) decision to support an Establishment that permits abortions makes it easy for the ACLU to support the genocidal Nazis.

Jefferson City, Mo. GERARD SCHROEDER

It is no doubt a silly question to ask, but I ask it: Why all the moral and constitutional commotion over a Nazi march through a Jewish neighborhood when a few years ago pro-Communist groups and quislings openly marched through our streets under the banner of the Vietcong, the enemy who was then killing American soldiers? What makes one demonstration dissent and the other criminal?

THOMAS J. MULLEN JR.
Whitehouse Station, N.J.

Passing the Torch

D. Keith Mano's review of *Perjury: The Hiss-Chambers Trial* ["The Last Traitor," May 26] concludes with the sentence: "In leak-ridden 1978, Alger Hiss would use, not Whittaker Chambers, but Jack Anderson as his courier to Moscow."

This is not so far-fetched. The posthumously published papers of Adolf A. Berle, Assistant Secretary of State from 1938 to 1944, contain this terse comment about Alger Hiss and his brother Donald: "Anything that went through their office leaked, usually to Drew Pearson."

Jack Anderson became a partner of Drew Pearson some time after these events and now carries on the column.

Teaneck, N.J. VICTOR F. MORRIS

Mr. Kirk Replies

Nelson Guild, president of Frostburg State College ["Letters," June 9], is sufficiently refuted by a member of the staff of *State-to-Date*, the student newspaper at Frostburg, who writes to me as follows: "Your article brought answers to questions that had only been raised before. President Guild previously had publicly justified his actions and said that his only regret was not having extended the 'pardon' to first-semester transfer students. After your NATIONAL REVIEW article, Guild denied all possibilities of extending the policy or continuing it at all. Your article caused professors to rationalize, ignoramuses to damn, and reactionaries to foam at the mouth. Personally, I admire anyone who stands up for standards and who makes Frostburg (and the nation) reconsider its priorities."

As Mr. Guild is aware, the February 1 issue of *State-to-Date* was full of denunciations of his calculated lowering of standards at Frostburg. Those who complained were among the abler students at that state college. As a black sophomore said, "It seems unfair for those students who have put so much effort into their work for the college to suddenly have a lowering of academic standards. A situa-

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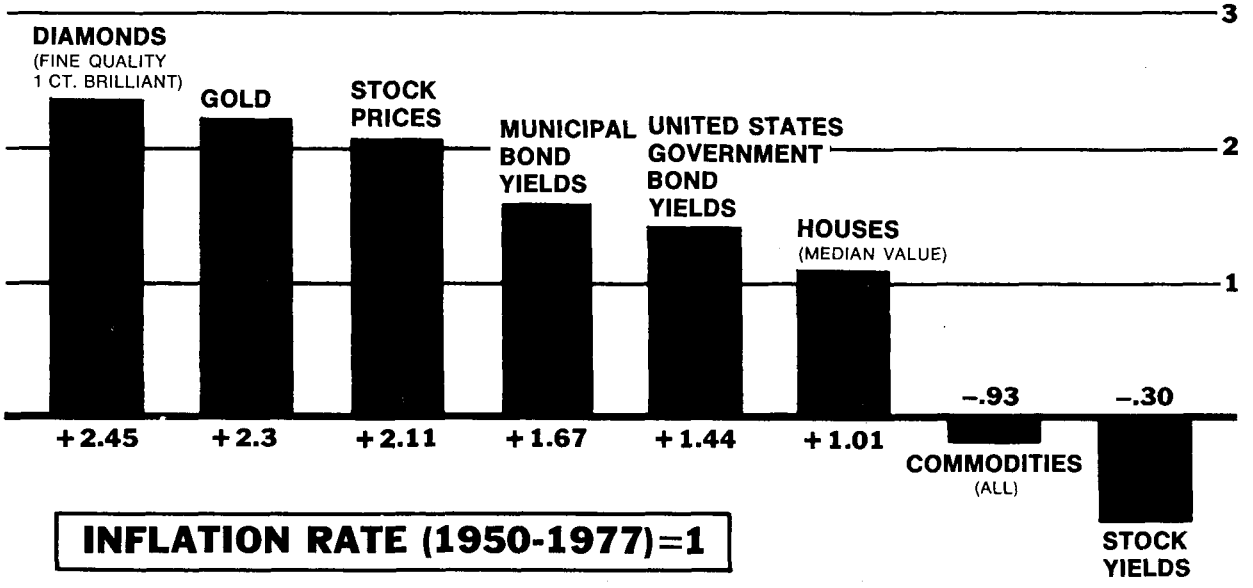

INFLATION RATE (1950-1977)=1

NOTE: If this chart were computed on the basis of the last ten years alone, diamonds would show an even more dramatic comparison with other investments: Good quality diamonds have gone up about 700% during that period.* And so far in 1978, DeBeers has raised the prices another 40%.

This chart was prepared by Dr. Michael Leyzorek; a Rutgers Professor and consultant to the Central Selling Organization Of DeBeers Consolidated Mines Ltd. (the worldwide monopoly that controls over 85% of all diamond supply). Due to their cartel nature, DeBeers is prohibited by law from doing business under their name in this country. In the U.S., Dr. Leyzorek is a consultant to only one diamond investment company – **The Diamond Collectors Guild Of America Ltd.**

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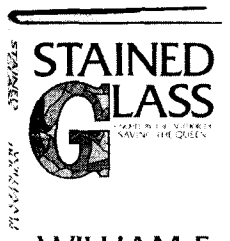

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Guy Davenport

"... Buckley writes with such wit and charm that one is soon engrossed in his book and rampaging through the pages,... Thanks be to Buckley for using his immense skills to weave the final web with the delicacy of a Rembrandt among spiders."

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tion of this sort could cause those dedicated students to be less dedicated. And for those students who were benefited by the lowering of standards . . . if they continue to refuse to work and cause corruption and despair for those who try to make the best of it, then everyone will suffer a great loss."

Mr. Guild correctly suggests that Frostburg State until recently was regarded as the best of Maryland's state colleges. A principal reason for this was that Frostburg restricted its admissions to the better applicants—because the college lacked dormitory space. The high-rise collegiate anthills built by Agnew's and Mandel's contractors have enabled Frostburg to lower its standards of admission swiftly; and Mr. Guild "empirically" accelerates the process.

Yet Frostburg by no means is the worst in the land. Recently it was revealed that New York Community College, Brooklyn, has, as the *New York Times* puts it, "assigned hundreds more students to remedial courses than could possibly be seated in the classrooms set aside for them." That community college is reimbursed for such "remedial" students' fees, whether the students show up or not—so that's all right. I hope I haven't put an idea into Mr. Guild's head.

Mecosta, Mich. RUSSELL KIRK

Jews on the Right

Jeffrey Hart's article on the rightward shift in the thinking of prominent Jewish intellectuals ["New Directions: Catholics and Jews," April 28] was encouraging. It is about time that these lofty utopian thinkers confronted reality.

The truth is that Jewish intellectuals have never really represented the thinking of the average American Jew, who is in fact much more conservative than is popularly believed. I know, from personal experience, that the Orthodox Jewish religious community in America, comprising over one million souls, has for years supported conservative positions.

These positions have not been widely reported by the print and electronic media, because those media prefer to cover the antics of the more radical trendy Jews, who provide much more entertaining copy, and whose views are much closer to the liberal biases of the media people themselves. For example, a recent statement by five national Orthodox Jewish groups condemning the national "gay rights" movement was completely ignored by AP, UPI, and all of the local New York press, even though these same media were at the time presenting many viewpoints favoring "gay rights." Given this biased presentation, Americans could have been excused for coming to the conclusion that Jews are not opposed to "gay rights."

It is time that the myth of American Jewish liberalism was exploded. It is time that we realized that large numbers of Americans Jews support conservative goals, such as tough anti-crime legislation, tax limitation, the defeat of ERA, suppression of obscenity and pornography, abolition of abortion-on-demand, tax credits for parents of parochial school children, and a return to religion and morality in American life. These are issues that can unite all Americans.

Brooklyn, N.Y. WILLIAM HANDLER

Concerning Jeffrey Hart's identification of *The Wanderer* as a conservative and traditionalist publication: *The Wanderer* has put up endless verbal fireworks over the last decade, but in practice its acceptance of the aggiornamento has been practically servile. It has spent that period tut-tutting at the traditionalists in the U.S.A., and it is assuredly undeserving of the honor of a traditionalist identification today.

Silver Spring, Md. JOSEPH E. JACQUES

Up the Down Flagpole

Don't be too rough on those electronic flagpoles ["Up—and Down—the Flagpole," March 31] that send flags aloft when the sun shines and haul them down when a cloud passes overhead. They are only aping the cloud-ducking that has been practiced down there on Foggy Bottom in recent years. It's not a bad mime act, and I can see the finale. A nuclear flash triggers those photo-electronic controls, but, alas, the flags don't move. They've already turned to ash.

Carroll, Neb. JOHN SWANSON

Capturing Lost Ground

A conservative might be left muttering to himself after reading Chilton Williamson's "To the Nashville Station" [June 9]. If the "economic conservatives" and the "social conservatives," as they are called, cannot come together, then the conservative cause is already lost.

I would suggest that a point of agreement could be found on the old ground of opposition to the centralization of power. In the past this ground has been claimed by negative figures such as Wallace. It has also been seen as posing a threat to individuals who have conservative instincts, but also have a personal stake in this or that federal program. However, opposition to "big government," etc., is popular in theory with almost everyone, and there must be a way to redefine it on affirmative territory.

This choice of territory is all-important; one must not only be right, one must also be able to fight the battle on the right ground. Whittaker Chambers long ago raised the question of how much conservatives would have to give up in order to hold on to the essentials. As he said, con-

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Allen Weinstein, a ranking historian whose liberal credentials are in good order, set out almost a decade ago to dig into the Hiss case. He was sure he could prove Hiss innocent. He sued under the Freedom of Information Act, gained access to tens of thousands of FBI, CIA, OSS, State and Justice Department classified documents. Hiss even opened up his own files.

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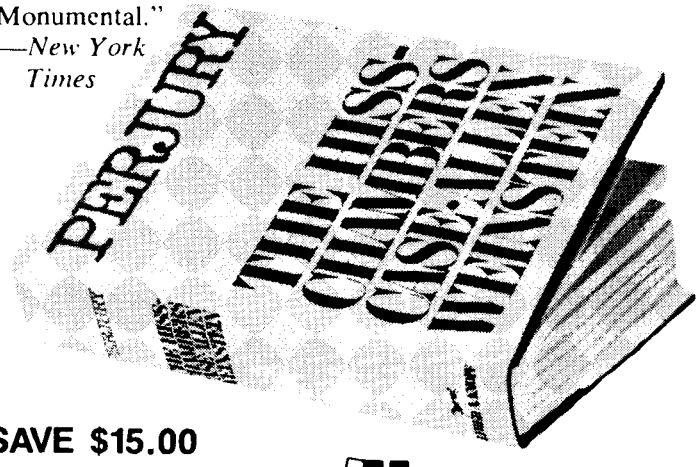

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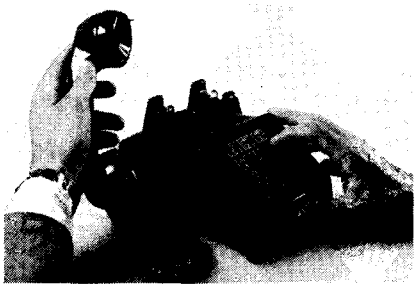

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servatism can be defended realistically only if it can accommodate itself to the needs and hopes of the masses.

Birmingham, Ala. JOHN D. HARPER

The Church and the Zeitgeist

The exchange ["Letters," April 28] between Jeffrey Hart and a thoughtful priest critic strikes some odd notes. Father Philip J. Lavin, C.SS.R., identifies himself as a longtime admirer of Hart's writings, something which I too have been. Then he takes issue with a swipe Hart made, in his "Chilean Spring" article [March 3], at "the nonsense the Church keeps talking on birth control."

Defending himself on this, Mr. Hart tells us, "According to everything I've read, the official teaching has lost on this issue both statistically and philosophically." Mr. Hart ought to extend his reading beyond the pollsters and pundits to the pages of Holy Writ. He might still come to the conclusion that the birth-control teaching has "lost," whatever that means, but he will be delivered of the notion that seems to underlie his rejoinder to Father Lavin and his flippancy over the birth-control teaching generally—namely, his implication that the Pope pulled this one out of the air. The official Catholic teaching comes straight out of the Bible. No doubt that is why Father Lavin urges Hart to a prayerful reading of *Humanae Vitae*. The scriptual citations are all there.

Mr. Hart seems not to be well informed, either, concerning the difference between the perspectives of Roman law and Anglo-Saxon law. To Hart, the fact that American Catholics "overwhelmingly ignore the teachings of *Humanae Vitae*" is evidence that the birth-control law deserves to be discarded. This ignoring of the law is what Hart means by its "losing statistically." But the tyranny-of-the-majority never dictated policy to Roman lawmakers. And where Church law is concerned, we have rumbling beneath the surface not merely the Roman belief in absolutes; we have also the many careful Aristotelian and Thomistic formulations concerning natural law and moral law. When we add to this the weight of some twenty centuries of traditional practice, it seems arrogant in the extreme to claim that because flocks of U.S. Catholics have decided that a teaching is nonsense, it is.

I am glad that the Baltimore priest spoke up. Knotty, yes; nonsensical, no.

New Orleans, La. BARBARA NAUER

Educating Harvard

Harvard's decision to adopt a "core curriculum" and gear itself to producing educated men deserves congratulations ["The Week," May 26]. Now that Harvard has certified this concept, perhaps it will once again become the norm.

The East does not lead the way in this nascent Renaissance, however. The Uni-

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versity of Chicago has maintained a lonely vigil, like Irish monks. Our "common year" and "second quartet" sequences in Biology, Physical Science, Social Science, and the Humanities have never been abandoned. Perhaps the Harvard Faculty of Arts and Sciences should send representatives west to observe core courses in action.

I wish Harvard an easy transition, and success in its endeavor.

Chicago, Ill. AUSTIN KELLY

On Judging Billy Graham

As a longtime admirer of Malachi Martin, I would consider it a sin of omission to allow his column "The Truth and Billy Graham" [June 9] to pass without some small protest. This sin would be compounded by my eagerness in the past to praise Mr. Martin's work to the skies.

Mr. Martin's column excoriates Graham for his failure to denounce the Communist regime in Hungary after his recent evangelistic campaign there. In so doing, Martin displays a very shallow understanding of Graham's role in the Christian church.

Billy Graham is an evangelist. That is his gift, and his office. He is not a prophet. The distinction is spelled out quite clearly in Scripture: e.g., Romans 12 and Ephesians 4. John the Baptist was a prophet, whose inability to remain silent in the presence of corruption led to his death; whereas Paul, the evangelist, rarely rebuked the little Roman tyrants to whom he explained the Way. This distinction seems to be lost on Martin, just as it was lost on all those oh-so-righteous folk who constantly criticized Graham for his friendship with Richard Nixon (despite the obvious question: If Nixon is such a wretched sinner, who better to talk to him than a professional evangelist?).

The most unfortunate aspect of Martin's piece, however, was its stern, holier-than-thou tone. His statement that Graham will receive the same condemnation as those false ministers who pimped for Hitler is hardly necessary: God will undoubtedly be able to judge Graham without any human advice.

Rock Hill, S.C. WILLIAM P. MELDEN

Replacing Carter

"For the Record" [Jan. 20] states that Howard Baker has a 25 per cent chance of being the GOP candidate to replace President Carter, Gerald Ford a 15 per cent chance, and Ronald Reagan, 12 per cent.

Neither Mr. Baker nor Mr. Ford can be elected, as they cannot attract enough conservative/independent voters. Gerald Ford proved that last in 1976. If he had had the slightest contact with reality he would have started to collect his bloated pension and permitted Governor Reagan to polish off Governor Carter. Neither had ever been on the federal payroll, so Carter's sly campaign against "the establishment" would not have worked. Ditto for Baker.

The *only* winning candidate is Governor Reagan. Let's get the job done.

Clearwater, Fla. JOHN W. KELLOGG

Gentlemen and Others

Richard Brookhiser's splendid article on Virginia Gentleman whisky [May 12] failed to discuss one important point: what exactly is a Virginia gentleman?

That question has often been put to the makers of Virginia Gentleman, the A. Smith Bowman distillery. In an effort to find some concise answers, the company turned to all the standard reference books. The best they could find were some comments on the noun, without the adjective, such as: "If a man is a gentleman he knows quite enough, and if he is not a gentleman, whatever he knows is bad for him."—Oscar Wilde. "A gentleman never strikes a lady without provocation."—H. L. Mencken. "I can make a Lord, but only God almighty can make a gentleman."—James I.

But once the news of the search for a definition circulated through the state of Virginia, the mail started coming and it hasn't stopped. It must be that every family in Virginia has a definition that has passed down through the years. Here are some of the best:

"To a gentleman there are only two important things in life—bourbon and women. A Virginia gentleman is only concerned with the age of his bourbon." "A Southern gentleman will go to any lengths to maintain the family honor. A Virginia gentleman will go only to honorable lengths." "A Southern gentleman who has only half the money needed to paint the fence will paint the outside of his fence, thus putting up a good front. A Virginia gentleman, in the same predicament, will paint the inside of the fence, since that is the side he has to look at. A Yankee will paint both sides of the fence, watering down the paint to make it go as far as necessary."

The discussion got as far as the state capital, and when the question was put to Governor Mills E. Godwin Jr. his reply was: "A Virginia gentleman is one who puts other people's feelings before his own interests and other people's interests before his own feelings."

New York, N.Y. AL DURANTE

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William A. Rusher

When New York University's School of Law presented its "Distinguished Citizen Award" to William A. Rusher in 1973, it declared that the honor was being conferred on him "in recognition of his able articulation of the conservative viewpoint."

Former Los Angeles Police Chief Ed Davis put it this way after one Rusher talk: "I sit on many a dais and hear a great many speeches, but it has been years since I have heard anything quite so fine."

To the *New York Times*' liberal columnist Tom Wicker, on the other hand, Rusher is just "terrifyingly articulate."

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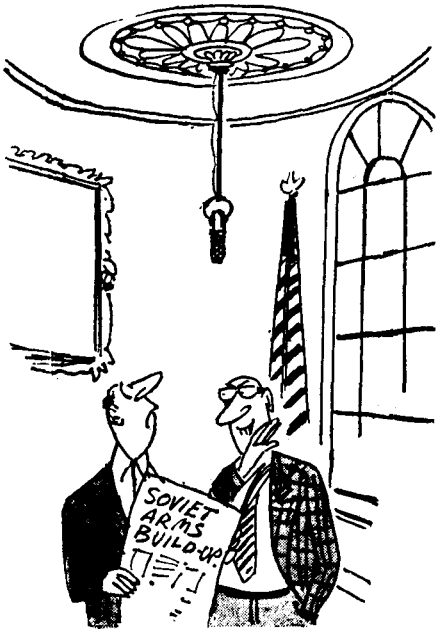
FOR THE RECORD

■ President **Carter** has problems back home. Poll taken by **Darden Research** reveals only 44 per cent of Georgians give him an "acceptable" rating. In May of 1977, Carter got 65 per cent approval rating among Georgians. In Louisiana, only one out of three voters gives him a positive rating. Louisiana analyst says: "It was a close state for him at the height of his popularity. Now he wouldn't carry this state if he were the only name on the ballot." Black disaffection with Carter is growing, not only over Africa. **Clarence Barney**, executive director of Urban League of New Orleans, reports that poll of eight low-income black neighborhoods in city showed inflation "is the overwhelming issue." But South isn't jumping ship yet, says a Georgia analyst: "It's like the couple who adopted a baby, then found out it was a gorilla. The folks just said, 'Well, he's a hairy rascal, but he's ours.'" . . . Not so for **George McGovern** and the ADA, who have put Carter on notice. Unless he stops "playing to right-wing fears" in foreign policy and to business interests in domestic policy, they'll be looking for a new baby in 1980. Outgoing ADA President McGovern says if the only two people in the race for nomination are **Jerry Brown** and Carter, "then I'd probably feel compelled to run."

■ The **Jarvis-Gann** bandwagon: Sen. **Ted Kennedy** told the U.S. Conference of Mayors in Atlanta that a "month ago people in Washington thought Proposition 13 was a new rock group on the West Coast. Well, they know a lot different now." Kennedy said all levels of government must find "more effective ways to cut the fraud and the fat and the waste in public programs" or else "others who care less about these urgent problems may rush in to cut the muscle, too." . . . Rep. **Phil Crane** plans national tax protest meeting in St. Louis later this summer. Sen. **Bob Dole** has introduced bills calling for tax exclusion of increased wages earned as a result of inflation, a constitutional amendment for balanced federal budget, a congressional commission to study and recommend a proposal for limited federal spending, and an amendment to the Budget Act requiring that the Budget Resolution contain no real increase in spending. . . . So far 24 state legislatures have passed resolutions calling for a constitutional convention for an amendment requiring a balanced federal budget. If 34 states approve such a resolution, Congress is required to convene a national convention. . . . Rep. **John Rousselot** (R., Calif.) has introduced a resolution calling for repeal of the 16th Amendment, which authorizes a federal tax on personal income.



Cookson, London Evening News *Rothco*

"At least their bugs are not as sophisticated as ours!"

■ **Howard Phillips**, national director of Conservative Caucus and former acting director of Office of Economic Opportunity under **Richard Nixon**, has announced his candidacy for Democratic nomination in race for Massachusetts senate seat now held by **Edward Brooke**. Boston Mayor **Kevin White** is also considering seeking Democratic nomination. Some polls give Boston radio personality **Avi Nelson** an edge over Brooke in the fight for GOP nomination. . . . **Allard Lowenstein** of Dump Johnson fame has resigned as a member of the U.S. delegation to the UN to run for Congress from New York's 18th Congressional district—Mayor **Koch**'s seat, now held by Republican **William Green**. Liberal Lowenstein stressed his "record of foresight" in fighting for things like property-tax reform. Proposition 13, he said, is an expression of a kind of "middle-class Watts." . . . Michigan's Northwood Institute is planning a four-day seminar from July 30 through August 3 on the theme: Freedom in Third Century America, featuring Dr. **Russell Kirk** and Dr. **Hans Sennholz**. Write: Lawrence W. Reed, Seminar Director, Northwood Institute, Midland, Michigan 48640.

■ Law and order notes: A radio broadcast from China's Kirin Province announced the capture of **Hsu Chao-chang**, secretary of the local Communist Youth League, "ferocious counter-revolutionary hatchet-man," "killer with hands stained by the blood of the people," "baneful dreg" of the purged Gang of Four, and "chief criminal of the smash-and-grabbers."

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THE WEEK

■ The bad news is that the environmentalists have won the Tellico Dam battle. The good news is that the Supreme Court managed to save the snail darter without recourse to the Fourteenth Amendment.

■ Senator Gary Hart, George McGovern's 1972 campaign manager, has metamorphosed into a tough, sophisticated defense analyst. He sits on the Armed Services Committee, assisted by a young aide named Bill Lind. Speaking privately with *NR* editor and syndicated columnist Jeffrey Hart, Lind recently said he thinks America is ripe for military defeat—much like France in, say, 1938. Part of the problem is organizational: our officers belong not so much to the total defense system as to their own branches of service, whose interests they tend narrowly to promote. Weapons systems, too, tend to be hidebound, often merely updated versions of old ones. Military thinkers here are paradoxically less free than their Soviet counterparts to publish fresh ideas. Worst of all, perhaps, we are afflicted with an atrophy of military imagination: military professionals tend to think in terms of the obsolete principle of "fire-power attrition," useful only against a quantitatively weaker foe—which the Soviets are not. The U.S., says Lind, needs a "conceptual revolution," in the direction of a "shock and maneuver" strategy designed to discover and exploit enemy weaknesses. Unless our strategists can learn to accommodate new realities and necessities, Senator Hart thinks, we can spend away, and still arrive at France, 1940.

■ Tax revolt? Bah, says George McGovern: it's really "hedonism," with "undertones of racism." "The blacks," says Jimmy Breslin, "are one of the reasons for the tax revolt." Charges of racism, in 1978, are the last refuge of a scoundrel.

■ If 1) U.S. intelligence is to be hamstrung abroad, and if 2) foreign agents here are to be given protection against U.S. surveillance, then 3) what of suspected American subversives in the U.S.? You guessed it—they are to be given access to the FBI's files, including confidential information reports. So says Federal Judge Griesa in New York, ordering the Justice Department to turn over FBI files to lawyers of the Socialist Workers Party, including that perennial defender of Communists, Leonard Boudin. Of course the SWP lawyers would have to promise not to reveal what they learned! The SWP is suing the U.S. for $40 million of damages for FBI surveillance since 1938. The case is complex but Attorney General Bell—one of the stronger pillars of the Carter Cabinet—feels so strongly he has indicated he may eventually refuse, even at the risk of contempt. It will be interesting to see whether in the end the confidentiality of police informants will rate as much constitutional protection as informants of the press.

■ Hailing the third volume of *The Gulag Archipelago* as a worthy consummation of "a literary masterpiece," Hilton Kramer writes, in the June 18 *New York Times Book Review*: "Combining history and anecdote, analysis and polemic, with searing vignettes of so many doomed lives made all the more eloquent by the author's intense empathy, his fiery sarcasm and moral fury, Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag* is the kind of book that permanently alters the way we perceive the world in which we live. No one who reads through its many blood-stained pages can ever be quite the same again—can ever again read a newspaper, listen to a political speech, or look upon the political and human circumstances of his own life with quite the same complacency and comfort. It is a book that leaves a permanent scar on the reader's soul."

■ So far the only successful imperial venture of the twentieth century has been the Soviet conquest of Eastern Europe (1944-48). The United States recognized this conquest in the first Helsinki agreement, in return for which the conquerors pledged to behave in a more humane fashion, at home and abroad. Comes now Edward Bennett Williams, lawyer, in behalf of Russian client, Aleksandr Ginzburg. Ginzburg has been in jail 16 months, for the crime of monitoring his government's performance of its Helsinki promises. The Soviets continue to deny Williams access, though Ginzburg is due to be sentenced this month. Williams has accordingly blasted the Helsinki agreement as a "charade," and has recommended to Congress that the United States rescind it. The Soviets disagree: "Just think of the consequences for detente," TASS warned when columnist William Safire made a similar suggestion. Wow! Safire and Williams never thought of *that*.

■ Like a poor but shrewd child adopting the abandoned toys of the rich, the USSR has decided to develop a nuclear bomber similar to the B-1. According to testimony of the Defense Intelligence Agency before the Senate Armed Services Committee, the bomber will be in operation by the early 1980s, about the same time our creaking B-52s will take their places in the Museum of Mechanical History.

■ Southeast Asia, now known as Gulag East: In Vietnam and Laos, there are the "re-education camps"; in Cambodia, an unprecedented terror. But the irony of the situation is worth savoring for a moment. Vietnam is

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

After the tax revolt, the rebellion against regulation may not be far behind. A long-standing cliché in Washington has been that big business and its regulators enjoy a sweetheart relationship. And, before 1970 and the advent of such regulatory bodies as the Environmental Protection Agency, the cliché may have been at least partially founded in fact. But then came the great wash of social regulation and the steady influx of consumerists into the new regulatory agencies, and now all deals are off.

It is seldom today that a corporate executive doesn't devote at least part of every speech to a description of the economic effects of social regulation on business and consumers. The Business Roundtable is embarking on an industrywide survey of regulatory costs. Numerous corporations, among them Dow Chemical, Chrysler, Kaiser Industries, and a number of major oil companies, have undertaken extensive internal studies to determine just how much regulation is costing them and their customers. And at least one company, Phillips Petroleum, is devoting an entire section of its annual reports to a "Government Impact Statement," a practice that may soon be adopted by a number of other major companies.

The leader of the incipient regulation rebellion is Professor Murray Weidenbaum, director of the Center for the Study of American Business at Washington University in St. Louis. Weidenbaum has been among the first to analyze not only administrative costs of regulatory agencies but also the compliance costs of their regulations, and the economic impact those costs have on consumers, businessmen, innovation, and inflation. According to Weidenbaum, testifying before the Joint Economic Committee of Congress earlier this year, the aggregate cost of government regulation may come to $102.7 billion in 1979.

Such figures are powerful ones in an inflation/spending-conscious Washington, where jittery congressional incumbents are attempting to come to grips with the message out of California. And the regulation rebellion is catching on, as witness the success of the American Enterprise Institute's glossy new publication, *Regulation*, which is now required reading at most major companies, on much of the Hill, and even in parts of the Executive branch.

Washington may yet succeed in blurring the issue, as it usually manages to do whenever issues hit close to home. No one wants to run for re-election on a platform of more fuel for the inflation machine. But for the moment, at least, the regulation rebellion seems off to a promising start. Says one top corporate speechwriter: "All of a sudden, we've dropped all that moonshine about corporate responsibility and are punching at Washington where it's most vulnerable. And for a change, they're listening."

■ And it's not only the major corporations that are speaking out. This letter, for instance, inserted in the *Congressional Record* by Representative Charles Wilson (D., Tex.), was written by the Texas South-Eastern Railroad Co. to the Department of Transportation, in response to the DOT's plan to combat railroad crossing accidents by requiring strobe lights on locomotives:

Gentlemen:

The best solution . . . would be to require all motor vehicles to STOP, LOOK, AND LISTEN at all railroad grade crossings. . . . This of course will never be considered because it would probably eliminate 95 per cent of all crossing accidents. . . . It would also place a heavy drain on the legal profession and that alone will keep such action from ever being taken.

Therefore, we have on our own and without any government grant of any kind made an independent survey. . . . We have determined that one strobe light on each locomotive will probably eliminate 1 per cent of all grade crossing accidents. Based on this assumption, if one hundred strobe lights were placed on each locomotive we could eliminate 100 per cent of all grade crossing accidents. We would also suggest that no trains be operated during daylight hours as daylight will reduce the effectiveness of the strobe lights.

Probably the next best method would be to require that all trains stop at all grade crossings. This, of course, would greatly increase the railroads' operating expenses. We have estimated this figure to be $697,492,654,552.27 annually. . . . Our figures were arrived at with the help of a cost expert on loan from Conrail.

This same gentleman advises us that this amount is insignificant, and that we could, of course, expect a government grant for this expense. One method would be to add this to Conrail's request for the next six months' Operating Expenses, where it would probably go unnoticed.

One other suggestion would be to require all vehicles to approach all grade crossings at 90 mph. This would allow many motorists to beat the trains at a legal speed. Those that did not could be almost certain of not being crippled in the resulting collision.

Respectfully submitted,
George T. Honea
Vice President, General Manager

—CATO

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now (a sort of second Vietnam War) fighting frequent skirmishes against Cambodia, which is supported by Red China. (Vietnam is still, as it was throughout the official Vietnam War, supported by Red China's arch-enemy, the USSR.) Cambodia has been decimated by its own regime's policies, and ought to pose no military problems for the Vietnamese. But just as the United States, the most powerful nation in the world, was prevented from fighting effectively against North Vietnam, so—role reversal—Vietnam is now prevented from fighting effectively against Cambodia. It can't prosecute an all-out war, using its most sophisticated weapons, because it must avoid provoking China, which remains the real power in the area. Meanwhile—a more poignant irony—ethnic tension and the conflict with the Chinese have caused Vietnam to harass Chinese residents there, who are now fleeing (many of them back to China) by the tens of thousands. Among those Chinese were shopkeepers in who Saigon had thought, when they left China in the first place, that they had escaped from totalitarianism.

■ There are now some two thousand Angolan and Mozambican students working in the fields in Cuba. This is not, the Cuban government wants us to understand, a

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necessary *quid pro quo*. That is, the Africans are not in Cuba because, Cuba having sent some fifty thousand soldiers and technicians to Africa, she is short on manpower at home. Rather, the Africans have been invited, as an expression of solidarity with the "victorious left-wing regimes" of their own countries, to take part in a basic "realignment" that Cuba had already instituted on behalf of its own young people—a combined program of work and study on the Isle of Pines, a former prison island now used as the base of the Popular Power movement. Ironically, the solidarity with blacks that Cuba has been expressing extends only to African blacks. There are virtually no native blacks in positions of importance within Cuba, and one reason many Cuban blacks have volunteered for duty in Africa is the possibility of promotion there.

■ The twin wars against Rhodesia continue apace. The shooting war is the more noticeable: military and civilian casualties average a hundred a week; four missionaries died this month alone; 750 schools in rural areas have been closed, and another 63 burned; tax collecting falters in the battle zones, while hoof and mouth disease and tsetse flies, long wiped out, reappear. The diplomatic war, waged by different parties with different ends, yields equally damaging effects: non-recognition, trade sanctions, international ostracism. Two solutions have so far been proposed. The Anglo-American notion is to end both conflicts by throwing the Rhodesian government open to Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo (". . . a politician whose instincts are moderate and liberal"—*New York Times*). The Rhodesian idea, offered this month by Ian Smith, is to persuade the U.S. and the UK to call off the diplomatic war. This would not end the fighting, but would make it easier on the Rhodesians, and would have the added virtue of conferring diplomatic approval on the freest government in Africa. A third option—to let present trends continue—is also possible; though, to judge from Smith's remarks, this may be only a longer variant of the first. "I concede that we are not succeeding as we had hoped," Smith told the BBC. ". . . We have got to improve our performance."

■ There is a kind of poetic symmetry to the arrival in Zaire of several Chinese instructors to help train the Zairian navy, which faces Angola's Russian-equipped, Cuban-trained forces who, says President Neto, could blockade Zaire's port of Matadi. Perhaps the symmetry could be completed if the large UNITA guerrilla forces fighting Neto's Cubans could recruit a team of volunteer military advisors and trainers from Brazil. After all, if Cubans can be invited in, why not Brazilians? There are many more of them, and they do speak Portuguese. Of course some financial help would be needed—such as the Russians provide the Cubans. But perhaps symmetry could solve this problem too.

■ FROM CHINA WITH LOVE: Despite the advice proffered last year during a visit to China by Assistant Secretary of Education, Mary F. Berry, the Chinese are turning increasingly toward examinations, both to regulate admission and to measure achievement. They are gradually dropping selectivity based on class origins—the Chinese version of affirmative action—in favor of educational promise. Not that the millennium has arrived. The new course is being pushed by Vice-Chairman Teng against the reservations of Chairman Hua, who still hankers after a more political, less "elitist," orientation. Never mind, it all goes to show that even Chinese Communists return from political relativism toward intellectual quality. If the Chinese return, can HEW be far behind?

■ *NR* contributor Charles Wiley has received two boosts in his race for the 15th Congressional District in north-central New Jersey. In the Democratic primary race, his opponent, Representative Edward J. Patten, received a scare when a totally unknown young lawyer received over 41 per cent of the vote. Less than a week later, Koreagate investigator Leon Jaworski recommended that the House Ethics Committee zero in on four House members—Representatives John J. McFall, Edward R. Roybal, Charles H. Wilson, and Edward Patten. Wiley is now said to have an excellent chance.

■ DEATH, WHERE IS THY STING? The London *Daily Telegraph* reports that deposed Pakistani Premier Ali Bhutto, sentenced to death on charges of political murder, emaciated and depressed from a hunger strike, has "one last wish": to read Richard Nixon's new book.

Steady As You Go

"The Soviet Union can choose either confrontation or cooperation. The United States is prepared to meet either choice." Thus spoke President Carter at Annapolis on June 7, and a tentative buoyancy touched a people craving clear direction.

By June 20, this gauntlet had become a measured, lawyerlike truism from the lips of Secretary Vance to the House International Affairs Committee: "As the relationship continues to evolve, both sides will continuously be making choices between an emphasis on divergent elements of our relationship and emphasis on the cooperative ones. The President made clear at Annapolis that our preference is to broaden the areas of cooperation." But, if that is all the President really said, was it worth the trip to Annapolis? Or did something change between June 7 and June 20? The initial modest buoyancy gave way to uncertainty in view of the rapid dilution of June 7's polemical proclamation to June 20's pale platitude.

All the same, Carter was on the right track at Annapolis *if* he meant business, i.e., if he was expounding a

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considered, determined, principled policy. In that case, we must stick to it patiently, waiting through a chilly phase of some considerable duration, to give the policy time to produce something beyond immediate pyrotechnical results. Such patience might be rewarding. The USSR respects those who are steady, and we should cultivate their respect, not their compliments. But if the Annapolis speech did *not* reflect a determined policy, it would have been better unspoken.

The fragility of the Administration's position at home is reflected—ironically—in the spectacle of the President who pledged "I will never lie" thrown on the defensive in a test of credibility against Castro, who once lied in saying he was not a Communist, and against Gromyko, who, in 1962, flatly lied to President Kennedy about Russian missiles in Cuba. "No court conviction could be obtained," said Senator McGovern of the President's case on Cuban support for the Katangan invasion; and, "I'd be insulted if Castro lied." Some congressmen and commentators talk disparagingly of "circumstantial evidence," as if world politics was ever conducted on the basis of Anglo-Saxon rules of evidence.

Pravda's sharp response to Carter concluded with a homily according to which—divested of its self-serving context in *Pravda*—"Courage in politics is by no means an equivalent of bravado. . . . Political courage is different. It is the ability to outline and consistently implement a principled political course."

Amen. President Carter set a course at Annapolis. As they say in the U.S. Navy, "Steady as you go."

Nixon's New Majority Plan

During his first term as President, all the evidence suggests, Richard Nixon did not fully understand the dynamics of American politics that were responsible for his electoral victory. In fact, he and George Wallace together scored a 57 to 43 victory over a discredited and electorally routed New Deal–Great Society liberalism. By 1972, however, the message had sunk in, and we learn from his recently published memoirs that, following his 49-state landslide, Nixon was planning a series of moves to consolidate his New Majority triumph. These plans were of course frustrated by Watergate—but in 1978 the political momentum has been regained. Nixon's early-1973 plans represented a clear version of what by all indications the voters today so strongly desire. Pages 761-770 of the memoirs, even today, constitute a handbook for a winning political stance:

"At the beginning of my second term, Congress, the bureaucracy, and the media were still working in concert to maintain the ideas and the ideology of the traditional Eastern liberal establishment. . . . Now I planned to give expression to the more conservative values and beliefs of the New Majority throughout the country. . . ."

"For various reasons I had had to acquiesce . . . and accept the fact that no major reorganization reform or voluntary fiscal restraint would come from Congress during my first term. Now, however, armed with my landslide mandate and knowing that I had only four years in which to make my mark, I planned to force Congress and the federal bureaucracy to defend their obstructionism and their irresponsible spending in the open arena of public opinion. . . ."

"By the time a new President was elected in the bicentennial year of 1976, I hoped to have given America the beginning of a new leadership class whose values and aspirations were more truly reflective of the rest of the country. . . ."

"We . . . moved to reorganize, reduce, or abolish the remaining behemoths of the Great Society that had done little to aid the poor, and which were now primarily serving the interests who administered them."

By early 1973, Nixon had thus grasped the central theses of post-liberal politics. A complex figure, Nixon will be remembered by history for many things, but he should surely go down as a somewhat tardy but also strategically placed avatar of the tax-limit, reduced-government spirit now sweeping the country.

Gathering Political Upheaval

A grande peur *has settled over the members of the New Class, who can read the polls and the election returns and suspect that the bell has begun to toll for them and for their projects. About which we are pleased to run as a guest editorial the following excerpts from a column by Patrick Buchanan, a long-time friend of* NR*:*

Excepting solely the victory of Proposition 13 in California, [Jeff] Bell's astonishing upset of Cliff Case is a political event of more significance than any other this election year. Overnight, the "me-too" liberal Republicans in the Senate have become an endangered species. Ed Brooke is already in deep trouble in Massachusetts. Jake Javits in New York and Mac Mathias in Maryland are now almost certain to face primary challenges from party conservatives in 1980.

Built around his espousal of the Kemp-Roth tax cut plan, Bell's victory has increased sharply the chances that the Republican program will be enacted in Congress. If Carter vetoes it, he could be politically devoured by the taxpayer revolt sweeping the country.

Watching Bell's astonishing victory, Jack Kemp, an articulate conservative, principal congressional author of the Kemp-Roth plan, must himself be thinking today of attempting in the New Hampshire presidential primary what Bell accomplished in New Jersey. Watching the enormous and favorable publicity Bell has received, other young conservatives are certain to think of setting

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aside two years themselves to win a seat in Congress. Suddenly, all things seem possible.

I can think of few more healthy developments. For Jeff Bell is anything but a status-quo, country-club conservative of the old school. He is a man of ideas, who lives and breathes politics and issues, who carries a genuine enthusiasm for political combat with the mandarins of the New Class who lord it over this capital city and seek to rule this country by decree. . . .

Even if Bell should lose in November, he will be remembered as the man who shot Liberty Valance. What a splendid sight to see on NBC the other night when a shell-shocked Cliff Case, the ADA's favorite Republican, was packing his bags into his shiny Mercedes, before heading back to Washington.

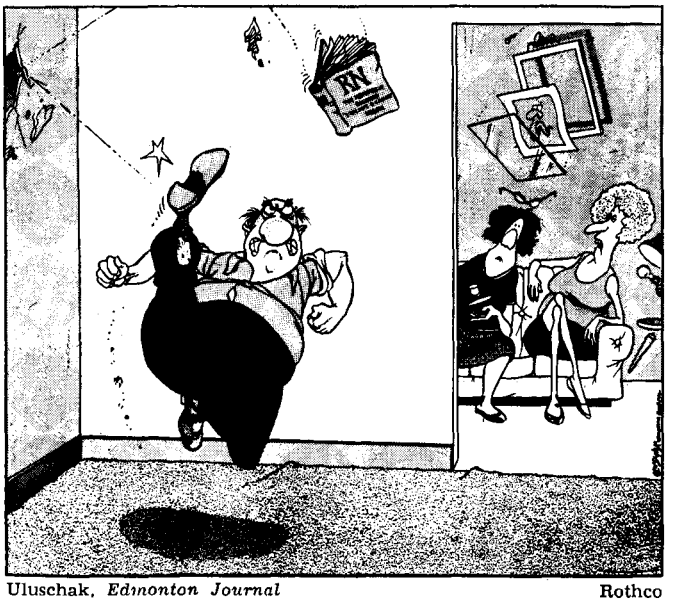
Credit Rationing

Federal regulatory officials often take the heat for doing precisely the idiotic things that the legislators instructed them to do. Foolish laws rarely produce sensible regulation. The Community Reinvestment Act, signed into law last October, is so muddled that four agencies that regulate financial institutions recently held public hearings in five cities with the sole purpose of figuring out what the new law expects them to do.

The CRA, as the law is affectionately known, instructs the regulators "to encourage financial institutions to help meet the credit needs of the local communities in which they are chartered," with particular attention to "low- and moderate-income neighborhoods." The trouble is that the law doesn't explain what is meant by "encourage," "credit needs," "local communities," or "low- and moderate-income neighborhoods." The implication is that the regulator should lean on commercial and savings banks to push more loans on the residents of low-income neighborhoods, who apparently need more loans than they ask for. The testimony of interest groups makes it clear that they hope to use the vague mandate to make it easier to get mortgages and small business loans in decaying areas. Their claim that the age of houses or the arson rates of neighborhoods are irrelevant to loan risk is a flimsy cover for the law's main objective, which is to compel bank stockholders to act as a Small Business Administration or Federal Housing Authority by absorbing more losses on risky loans. It is like trying to force life insurance companies to supply policies at the same rate to everyone, regardless of age or health. A secondary objective is to reduce competition between banks in different cities in order to keep the costs of loans up and the interest on deposits down.

The whole scheme is sure to backfire. New lenders will not enter areas where they are compelled to take undue risks, and old lenders in such neighborhoods will disappear through bankruptcy or because their stockholders and depositors seek safer havens for their money. All that will happen, should the new law be strictly enforced, is that low-income communities will be denied any financial services at all except those provided by loan sharks.

This latest effort to substitute the judgment of regulators for that of professional loan officers is both undesirable and unnecessary. Banks already have plenty of bad loans, and consumers have more than enough debt.



Uluschak, *Edmonton Journal* Rothco

"Erstwhile bought Nixon's book just so he could still have Nixon to kick around."

Deaf, Dumb & Blind in Zaire

Remember the three little monkeys
Whose slogan was meant to remind
That they were an innocent trio,
Deaf, speechless, and totally blind?
Well, Senators Church and McGovern
And Iowa's Senator Clark
React like that simian threesome—
Which should have been barred from the Ark.

W. H. VON DREELE

The 'Established' Press

Two recent Supreme Court decisions concerning the press have been widely denounced in . . . the press. Oddly enough, one of the rulings, *Belotti*, actually enlarged the meaning of "the freedom . . . of the press." The Court struck down a Massachusetts law forbidding corporations to take stands on public issues not effecting their own concerns. But the most interesting thing about the decision was Chief Justice Burger's separate concurring opinion that

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the free press clause protects anyone who uses a printing press as a vehicle of opinion, and not just the "institutional" press. Justice Potter Stewart, on the other hand, dissenting in the 5 to 4 ruling, holds that the phrase virtually establishes the news business as a constitutionally privileged industry: "the only organized private business that is given explicit constitutional protection." Thus, for Stewart, the *New York Times* has a right to use a press that neither General Motors, corporation, nor John Doe, individual, enjoys. We say hogwash to that, and double hogwash to the notion that this interpretation is "explicit." The Framers simply meant to abolish prior restraints—licensing—as a restriction of *any* use of the press.

In another ruling the Court held, 5 to 3, that police may get warrants to search newsrooms for evidence even though nobody on the paper is connected with the crime. The press found this ruling unconstitutional, which is to say they don't like it at all. The *Washington Post* got so mad it proposed that the Court's ruling be circumvented by, of all things, legislation; but this was a moment of pique, and we're sure the *Post* didn't really mean that the federal system should be restored. Of course it had hit on precisely the right answer: the fact that a practice is undesirable has little to do with whether the Constitution permits it. That is just what legislation *is* supposed to decide: desirability. The Carter Administration is already drafting a law to prevent abuse of the ruling.

Again, Justice Stewart spoke up for the heresy for which he is getting renowned: though "perhaps as a matter of abstract policy a newspaper office should receive no more protection from unannounced police searches than, say, the office of a doctor or the office of a bank," nonetheless "we are here to uphold a Constitution," and the Constitution doesn't "explicitly protect the practice of medicine or the business of banking from all abridgement by government." Thus does he promulgate the eccentric but popular notion that the press is not only protected from governmental interference, but constitutionally appointed to perform a paragovernmental mission, as it were a fourth branch. Justice Stewart thinks he can stomp rights out of the First Amendment the way a pressoir can stomp juice out of a vat of grapes.

Pronunciation Difficulties

"Tax cut" is very hard to say
  For liberals I've known.
Some go into convulsive fits;
  Some gag, while others groan.
A few spit out the hateful words,
  But lady libs turn wan.
It's obvious the phrase ain't in
  Their normal lexicon.

W. H. VON DREELE

Anatomy of the Tax Revolution

First it was Tennessee, on March 7. Then California, on June 6. Modest publicity accompanied the March 7 vote, in which Tennessee voters amended its constitution to limit the rate of increase in state taxes and spending to the economic growth-rate of the state. Then on June 6 California exploded with Proposition 13 (Jarvis-Gann), the property tax-cut amendment. It's exciting, dramatic, but confusing. So let's sort out the facts, concepts, and people that are involved in the spreading tax rebellion.

1. The National Tax Limitation Committee, formed in 1975 by Chairman William F. Rickenbacher and President Lewis K. Uhler, has been working, directly and through affiliates and associates in over half the states, to place an over-all constitutional limit on the power of the state and local units of government to tax and to spend. The NTLC is also forming a drafting committee to prepare a federal constitutional amendment to limit taxes and spending. Target date for availability of the amendment to interested congressmen and senators will be early 1979.

The antecedent of this movement was Ronald Reagan's 1971 Proposition 1. Uhler, then a Reagan assistant, chaired the governor's task force which developed the limitation concept. Economists Milton Friedman, William Niskanen, and W. Craig Stubblebine, who served on that early task force, have since become active NTLC members.

2. The National Taxpayers Union, in addition to its historic roles as monitor of the federal budget and source of the "Golden Fleece Award," has been active in influencing the adoption on a state-by-state basis of resolutions calling on the Federal Government to pass a balanced-budget amendment. Some 22 states have so responded to date. Woody Jenkins (President of the American Legislative Exchange Council and a state representative who is currently running for the United States Senate for Louisiana) has been active in the balanced-budget movement.

3. The Jarvis-Gann property tax limitation amendment seeks to control a single revenue source—the property tax—by limiting the amount of tax which can be extracted from the property owner to 1 per cent of the fair market value of the property. This may be increased by no more than 2 per cent per year, a so-called inflation factor. A two-thirds vote is meanwhile imposed on the legislature with respect to the increase of any state taxes (although local taxes, other than property taxes, could be increased). Because of problems in the drafting of it (e.g., the requirement that local government bonds may be issued only on approval of two-thirds of all registered voters, not just a percentage of the voters participating in a particular election) as well as different needs in different states, it is doubtful that Proposition 13 could

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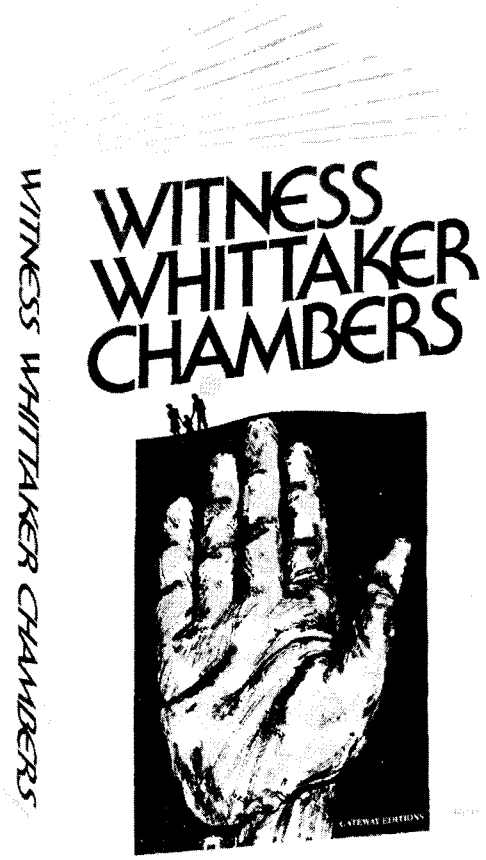

Witness is an American classic, one of the select few books that every literate conservative simply must have. If you have read it you know how true that is; if you haven't, here is a wonderful opportunity to get one of the great books of our time in a handsome new edition for just $3.95 (see offer below).

About the book. . .

It's no overstatement to say that *Witness* is one of the greatest books of this century. Once you pick it up you will be hard put to lay it aside. In one sense, it's sheer spinetingling melodrama with all the elements of a superb mystery/spy thriller. Yet, it's all true, the unforgettable story of one man's lonely struggle that, in the end, becomes Everyman's struggle against tyranny and materialism (shades of Solzhenitsyn!). If you've ever wondered why so many intellectuals become Communists you'll find the answer here in this shocking account of the Communist Fifth Column in America by a man who was there, took part in it, and who names names.

As John P. Marquand wrote, "*Witness* is much more than a series of intrigues and trials. . . . No psychological novel can exceed it in interest. No study of conflicting characters under stress could go deeper with Chambers, or be more puzzling than with Hiss. The book was not written as literature, but literature it is of a high order." Amen.

Unfortunately, *Witness* has been out of print for so long that a whole generation has grown up largely unaware of the treasure that awaits them in this remarkable book. But now it is once again available, complete and unabridged, in a new high quality softcover edition. This new edition sells for $6.95 retail but you can get it for just $3.95, almost half price, with NR's Special Book Offer. Just subscribe to *National Review* now for a full year at the current price of $19 (or extend your present subscription, no matter when it's due to expire), add $3.95 for the book, and we'll send a brand new copy of *Witness* posthaste. (Remember, we pay all postage and handling — another big savings for you.)

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be "Xeroxed" and used in other states, although this is the impression that Mr. Jarvis seems to be giving. Historically, though, the property tax—especially the tax on one's home—has been most deeply resented. In California specifically, the rate of increased assessments caused many to fear for their ability to retain their homes. This fear, coupled with a gigantic state surplus, led to the overwhelming approval of Proposition 13—by the same 65 percent majority garnered in Tennessee.

Cuba and Human Rights

Fidel Castro recently admitted that the Cuban government holds about twenty thousand political prisoners. This figure agrees with the estimate of the U.S. State Department, though some students of the situation place the figure higher. But the twenty thousand figure, as the highly articulate London *Times* columnist Bernard Levin has pointed out, represents probably the highest number, per capita, of political prisoners in the world—higher even than in the Soviet Gulag.

How is it, then, that the Castro regime possesses so favorable a standing with "world opinion"? How is it that the Carter Administration, at those moments when it is expressing concern over "human rights," does not focus on a prime offender, Castro? Bernard Levin thinks he has the answer.

"Of all the totalitarian countries of the world," wrote Levin in a *Times* article which deserves to be widely known, "the one which escapes censure most completely and unjustifiably is Cuba. Even Yugoslavia, the apologists' favorite Communist state, is more frequently and sharply criticized, though as a matter of fact Yugoslavia is a less brutal and pervasive tyranny."

But why? Here is Levin's explanation. "The trouble is that the whitewash was applied to Castro in his early days more liberally [sic] than to any other dictator, possibly not excepting Ho Chi Minh or even Mao himself. . . . Whitewash, applied in sufficient quantities, will do its job, and in Castro's case it seems that it did, for he has practiced years of the most ruthless repression, and the most odious subservience to the Soviet Union (the only two Communist Parties anywhere in the world, outside the borders of the Soviet empire itself, to support the 1968 occupation of Czechoslovakia were those of North Vietnam and Cuba), without the true lineaments of his role showing through."

Levin next quotes some letters smuggled out of Cuba describing the horrors of Castro's dungeons and concentration camps. He comments with devastating accuracy: "And in contemplating such conditions, it is worth remembering that, in his years of absolute power in Cuba, Castro has never ordered an amnesty for political prisoners—as even Franco and the Greek Colonels did, and as Tito recently has." Indeed, as Pinochet recently has.

Levin's concluding sentences should be pondered: "In some respects, Castro's version of Communism is actually worse than the Soviet Union's; indeed, it is at times hideously reminiscent of Stalin's tyranny itself. The forced confession, for instance, is not at present widely used in the Soviet Union. But Castro has used it against one of the most distinguished of Cuban poets, Herbert Padilla, who wrote a volume of poetry in which he was critical of his country's rulers. . . . The case was so shocking that even Sartre protested."

Is Levin's "original whitewash" explanation sufficient to explain the tolerance, indeed the admiration, which this evil Caribbean tyranny enjoys? Probably not. Fidel Castro was, in some ways, the great culture hero of the 1960s. John F. Kennedy, the "best and the brightest," offered an alternative. But bearded bohemian leftism won the cultural battle. Kennedy, not Castro, was assassinated. Castro's African adventurism represents a Communist version, so far successful, of Kennedy's inaugural promise to "go anywhere" that freedom was threatened. But Castro defeated Kennedy at the Bay of Pigs. And it is Castro who has "gone anywhere" to spread Communism.

The admiration for this tropical tyrant among the intelligentsia, in the media, among liberal politicians and American capitalists, must, at the bottom line, simply reflect a moral sickness unto death.

Popish Plot Discovered

The *Times* is up to its old tricks against the anti-abortion campaign. A front-page story by John Herbers on June 20 portrayed the movement as fanatical, devious, violent, and, uh, "Roman Catholic." Thus: "The movement has been accompanied by violence against abortion clinics, for which the leaders deny responsibility." Get it?

Innuendo aside, as much might have been said of the civil rights and antiwar movements. They too were "single-issue" movements, and nobody—certainly not the *Times*—held their leaders, and their supporters en

Jimmy as Trumpet

At Annapolis, the cheers
Made reporters hold their ears,
And the hard-line rhetoric
Gave Frank Church a facial tic;
All that's lovely, but the thrill
Marching with him up the hill
Gets deflated later when
Jimmy marches down again.

W. H. VON DREELE

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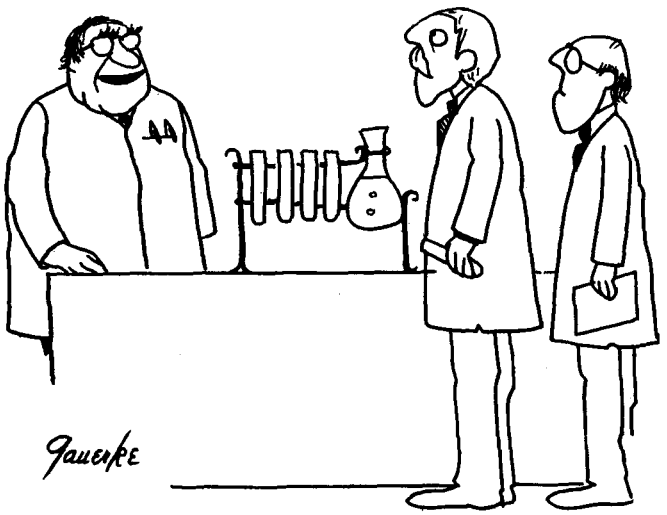

"If you concentrate on my accomplishments and abilities as a professional, in time you'll be able to overlook the fact that I'm a woman."

masse, responsible for every act of rioting and firebombing. Indeed the rage of the violent was often cited as evidence of the moral urgency of their cause. We were exhorted to meet their demands in order to reconcile the kids and blacks, who possessed a special ideological charisma for the liberal pundits. How dare we frustrate these idealists, these victims?

Well, now there is a new set of idealists, who have nothing to gain by their activism: unlike the idealists of the Sixties, they stand to win nothing in the way of money, status, safety, power, or the motherly approval of the *Times*. Despite their alleged desire to inhibit personal freedom, they will not direct the bureaucracies of the future. And, for their unconcern with these things, they are rewarded with liberal epithets, the mildest of which is "divisive." They want to "impose their beliefs" on their fellow citizens (something liberals *never* do). They are lumped together as gauche votaries of dogma —Catholics, if only by association. This is a social prejudice of which the *Times* is anomalously tolerant. It becomes the editorial page ill enough. In purportedly objective news stories it is also unprofessional.

Shroud (Cont'd)

In their May 10 issue, the editors of the Protestant journal *The Christian Century* commented as follows on the Shroud of Turin:

> **About That Image . . .**
>
> Certainly you have been waiting for us to make comment on the currently hot topic of the Shroud of Turin. At last we are ready. In the *Chicago Tribune* for Sunday, April 23, 1978, Francis L. Filas, SJ, of Loyola University, who has been studying the Shroud for thirty years, has given his calm, understated judgment: "There's one chance in a billion times a billion times a billion that the image on the cloth could be anybody but Christ."
>
> To which we make our editorial reply: "There's one chance in a billion times a billion times a billion that the image on the cloth could be Christ." This statement suggests a minor distance between Father Filas' judgment of the case and our own.

All this cutesy hostility was too much for one reader, who replied to the editors:

> Regarding your editorial reply to F. L. Filas, SJ, on the Christicity of the Shroud of Turin, it is truly wonderful to note on p. 509 of the same issue, your acceptance of Doubleday's display advertisement for the Ian Wilson book [about the Shroud, favorable].
>
> At odds of only one chance in ten to the 26th power, such acceptance is most verily a tribute to the exercise of your courage of your one doubt.
>
> "No one knows what Christ really looked like!" is a declaration which we all have heard at times, whether from a Protestant Carlyle Adams or a Catholic Fulton J. Sheen. It is heartening to hear the retort uttered, either fortissimo by Father Filas or pianissimo by *The Christian Century*: "Maybe!"

As for us, we fail to understand the manifest hostility toward the Shroud on the part of some Christians. Would they be equally uninterested, or ostensibly uninterested, in a possible or probable portrait of Xerxes? of Alexander the Great? Is it possible that the details on the Shroud are just too *literal* for an enlightened liberal sensibility? Is it somehow *bad manners* to suggest that Christian claims about what happened to Jesus are, in fact, true? We are turning this exchange over to our Department of Religious Pathology for a diagnosis, and will pass along the laboratory report.

Notes & Asides

Memo to: WFB
From: KL

You asked about the results, if any, of Craig Robert's article of a year ago about the government's misleading econometric models ["Econometrics & Politics," May 3, 1977].

Roberts pointed out that all the econometric models the government uses—Data Resources Inc., Chase Econometrics, and Wharton—have a serious flaw in common: they ignore the incentive effects of tax-rate reductions and promote Keynesian emphases on the primacy of public spending, the result being that the models

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serve as ramps for government spending increases. Irving Kristol picked up the points in an article in the *Wall Street Journal*. Next, economist Otto Eckstein, proprietor of the DRI model, entered the debate in a disputatious way and was promptly dispatched by Roberts in the July 25, 1977 *Wall Street Journal*. DRI has since changed its model so that it no longer shows that a cut in corporate tax rates produces a fall in the Gross National Product. Big-spending liberals in the Congress will no longer be able to use the DRI model results to argue against cutting corporate tax rates.

Chase Econometrics fully accepted the criticisms and stepped forward, conscientiously, with a proposal to revamp their model. But so far they are having difficulty getting the ear of their public-sector clients. Oddly, Senator Henry Bellmon's Budget Committee staff have led the Republican resistance to progress.

No peep has been heard from Lawrence Klein, Carter advisor and proprietor of the Wharton model. From Klein, no peep is good peep, on the whole.

Recognizing the important role of these models in the formulation of public economic policy, Congressmen Jack Kemp and John Rousselot have kept the issue alive on the House floor and with the Congressional Budget Office, the Office of Management and Budget, and the Treasury. In the Senate, Orrin Hatch on the Joint Economic Committee, William Roth on the Finance Committee, and Sam Hayakawa on the Budget Committee have challenged the unscientific basis of the budget resolutions brought forward by the Senate Budget Committee.

Roberts' revelations have generated interest in new (non-Keynesian) models that do not ignore the positive economic effects of tax-rate changes. One has recently been developed by Washington economist Norman Turé. Another is being developed by Arthur Laffer and the American Council for Capital Formation, chaired by the former Under Secretary of the Treasury, Charls Walker.

The chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, Russell B. Long, has thrown his weight against the Keynesian models saying, "I do not believe that the econometric models currently in use pay enough attention to the effect of incentives on the willingness of people to work, produce, and invest. These supply factors are vital to obtaining revenue estimates which truly measure the impact of public policy alternatives on the future growth and prosperity of this country."

■ Memo to: WFB
From: RSB
I propose that the Committee to Get Jeff Bell Moving be disbanded.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Do you have to use words like "sex" and "gay"; why not use words like "fornication" and "sodomite," if you have to talk about it? I refer to your editorial of 14 February and the cover of your 17 March issue.

Why not have a chess column as well as a music column?

Do you ever sail on rivers?

Your servant in the name of my Lord and Savior,

Roger L. Harmon
Glenpool, Okla.

Dear Mr. Harmon: We won't promote chess as long as they use naked pawns. Yours, WFB

■ Dear Bill:

I don't know if *NR*'s house laureate has a monopoly on doggerel. If not, the following might compete:

When Jimmy's problems obsess him
He goes to Camp David to grouse.
I have a better suggestion:
Why doesn't he clone Bob Strauss.

I was sorry to read in yesterday's *Washington Star* that Ruth Stapleton didn't make the cut at your recent dinner party. They say she's divine . . . Best,

Henry Catto
Washington, D.C.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

The good thing about your writing is that it's so dam stupid 90 per cent of your readers can't make head nor tail of what you're (trying) to say.

Dumb Member
American Masses

Dear Dumb: I'll see your ten, and raise you . . . fifty! Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Jimmy Carter's selective concern about human rights has crowded from our headlines the fact that Russians still persecute freedom-lovers in Eastern Europe.

A freedom fighter in Prague kept one attic or basement ahead of the USSR inquisitors. A midget, he could not blend into a crowd. Just blocks ahead of the KGB's house-to-house dragnet, the pint-sized patriot dashed into a store and pleaded, "Can you cache a small Czech?" Mr. B., please do not retort that from their point of view, the Russian rascals were making sure the store clerk would not be guilty of passing a bad Czech.

Sardonically,
Marvin Alisky
Arizona State University
Tempe, Ariz.

Dear Mr. Alisky: Some people pass bad Czoches. Cordially, WFB

—WFB

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Growing Pains

The Protracted Conflict

JAMES BURNHAM

THE TWO FOREIGN POLICY issues that have aroused most attention and most controversy since Jimmy Carter took office have been the Panama Canal treaties and the Israel–Egypt–Saudi Arabia aircraft package deal. Zbigniew Brzezinski's recent voyage to Peking suggests that before long an Administration proposal on "normalization" of relations with Communist China will be running a similar public and congressional gauntlet.

Thinking about this trio, I have more and more come to feel that there is a basic resemblance among them, not only in their ability to trigger controversy but in their strategic and political content. In each case the Administration (bringing to the decision point a process initiated by its predecessors) is seeking a major change in a geopolitical relationship that was brought about a good many years ago and then frozen.

In each of the three cases, the special relationship was formed in response to and in terms of the then-existing geopolitical situation. The 1903 Canal Treaty expressed the United States' jejune Monroe-Doctrine, The-Marines-Have-Landed imperialism at the turn of the century, the limitations of coal-fueled ships, and the nonexistence of aircraft and missiles.

Our special relationship with Israel, which was the core of the controversy over the aircraft package, was formed in the aftermath of the war and the Holocaust. In that period, the American image of the Near East, apart from Israel, was *à la* Charles Doughty and T. E. Lawrence: exotic deserts and oases, populated by impoverished peasants, beggars, roaming camel riders, veiled women, and barbarian sheikhs mostly warring with each other except when kept in order by French or British governors. Although oil had been discovered (by Americans) in the Mideast in the late 1930s, in those years immediately following the war oil was not yet part of the Near East image for Americans, and in fact was not yet of any great importance.

Our special relation with Taiwan, the core of the debate on China policy that will soon be raging, was also a product of the immediate postwar years. In the postwar Asian chaos, with Japan crushed and disarmed forever, according to our fiat, and the Communists, carrying the banners of the rampant world revolution, victorious on the Mainland, we stood loyally with our wartime ally, driven in defeat to Taiwan but still pledging a triumphant return. We refused to recognize the Communist conqueror of the Mainland; we not only continued our recognition of Chiang Kai-shek's government on Taiwan but signed a formal treaty promising to defend Taiwan against military attack.

At the time when they were formed, these three special relationships, if not in each case a triumph of statesmanship, were at any rate plausible as specific responses. As we know, however, time stops for no man or nation. Circumstances change, and when the change has gone far enough a nation must adapt sufficiently to deal with the new, painful though this may prove, or be stuck with outmoded and increasingly obstructive remnants from the past.

Nostalgia and Geopolitics

One crucial phase of the change is in the geopolitical role of the United States. The U.S. is no longer a localized or continental or hemispheric nation. In contrast to 1903—and even to the late 1940s—the U.S., whether we like it or not, is a genuinely world power: not merely a world power, but one of only two that exist (or have ever existed, since these two are the first), and of those two the U.S. is prior. (Let who might question that priority ask himself whether a world traveler will get along better with rubles and Russian or dollars and English.)

The change is also, of course, in the structure of the world within which the U.S., as world power, must function. Latin America is no longer a medley of banana republics cut loose from European overlords. The Mideast apart from Israel is no longer the barren abode of impoverished illiterates supervised, also, by European masters. Mainland China is not the integral extension of a monolithic Soviet system, nor is Taiwan's government a potential replacement for the Communist government in Peking.

A world power must correlate its policy with the global strategic pattern. In 1978 it would be turning strategy upside down to let a special relationship—parochial, sentimental—to a semi-obsolescent canal, no longer defensible in a major war, determine policy toward Latin America; or let the relationship to Israel determine policy toward the Mideast; or let the relationship to Taiwan determine policy toward China, Japan, and East Asia as a whole.

Turning the Page

Latin America is now the takeoff ground for the swiftly rising power of Brazil, first of all, and of nations like Mexico, Argentina, and Venezuela. The Mideast is the central arena for renascence of the Arab nations and, beyond the Arabs, of Islam, extending to all northern and much of southern Africa and east through southern Asia to the islands of Indonesia. The Mideast is the reservoir of the oil essential to the West's survival. And the developing nations of the Mideast—especially Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt—are now the advanced defense posts guarding the oil fields, the Persian Gulf, and land passage to Africa against the Soviets.

It is not that the U.S. repudiates its earlier, smaller-scale ties and commitments. But these earlier commitments —to the defense of the Canal and to Panama; to Israel; to Taiwan—are now being absorbed within the larger regional and global strategic framework that defines the theater within which a global power must act. The security of the Canal, Israel, and Taiwan was doomed by prolongation of the obsolete older relationship that no longer corresponded to the existing realities, and is reinforced by their assured presence in the new context. In making this transition, which was initiated by its predecessors but is being carried through by the Carter Administration, our government has so far been doing better than we have a right to expect. □

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Only WOMEN HAVE BABIES

CLARE BOOTHE LUCE

LAST NOVEMBER, a world population counter was erected by the Environmental Fund on Washington, D.C.'s Connecticut Avenue. Set at the 4.3 billion people already living, it has been ticking away ever since at the rate of three additional humans a second (10,800 an hour, over seven million a month).

If world population continues to grow at its present annual rate of 2.1 per cent, the Pop Clock will register a world population of seven billion by New Year's Day, 2000 (only 22 years away), 55 billion at the close of the twenty-first century, and half a trillion a century later. A nuclear war seems a lot more "thinkable."

In fact, overpopulation is the only really grave problem mankind faces. All other problems are secondary.

For example, preventing nuclear war is not, in itself, an insoluble problem. It lies in the hands of a few government leaders, and is amenable to rational cost/benefit analysis. All reason is against thermonuclear war. However, there is one thing that could very possibly bring it about: the worsening global economic conditions, and the resulting political instability and snowballing of international tensions, that are being produced by the population explosion.

No nation, however affluent and powerful, *or however low its own growth rate*, can long withstand the destructive impact on its economy of the rapid and massive increases in the populations of its neighbors.

The population of the United States is 225 million. Its official growth rate (0.8 per cent) is one of the world's lowest.* But we are already struggling with a complex of "domestic" problems that are either caused by domestic overcrowding or aggravated by world overpopulation.

Decaying, bankrupt, crime- and drug-ridden cities; pollution of the air, soil, and water; deterioration of the urban environment; destruction of the rural ecology; industrial stagnation; inflation; unemployment; rising costs of food, water, fuel, and imported resources essential to economic growth; racism; terrorism; the loss of personal privacy and individual freedoms; the lack of public confidence in government's capacity to redress these evils—all these "domestic" problems are also, today, *global* problems. They are now common to all the industrial democracies. They are the omnipresent, inescapable side effects of the pressures on the planet's limited resources generated by the unlimited fertility of women. (Only women have babies.) If the Pop Clock is not slowed down, and *soon*, these problems will continue to worsen everywhere, and all the ad-hoc, piecemeal attempts to solve them within the framework of free and orderly government must end in failure.

AT TODAY'S GROWTH rate, the U.S. population will double every 69 years. Meanwhile, the population of Latin America, now 342 million, is doubling every 25 years. Mexico's population alone will reach 126 million at the beginning of the twenty-first century, and three billion at the end of it. Legal admissions to the United States are today limited to 290,000 per year. But illegal entries from Mexico and a score of other overpopulated nations are now running a million a year. It is an optimist, indeed, who believes that, short of war, the United States can contain this tidal wave of humanity south of the border. The USSR, with a population of 260 million and a growth rate near our own, is faced with a similar threat. It shares a troubled five-thousand-mile border with a hostile Chinese people who now number nearly a billion. Red China's population will reach two billion within the next thirty years and, by the end of the next century, might reach 16 billion, representing at that point almost half of the hu-

*The unofficial U.S. growth rate, owing to illegal immigration, is established as being nearer 1.5 per cent.

Mrs. Luce is a former congressman, former ambassador to Italy, and playwright.

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man race. For anyone who wonders about the fate of the three million Israelis living in their cramped little country, the answer lies in the fact that the eighty million Arabs they face today will number 160 million before there are four million Israelis.

The population explosion is a recipe for disaster for *all* the nations, underpopulated or overpopulated. What, then, are the remedies?

Overpopulation is a condition that obtains whenever an imbalance exists between the amount of essential resources and the number of people. There are only two remedies for this condition. The first—and through history the most popular—is to increase essential resources to meet the level of the population. Can this still be done?

More than half the world's 4.3 billion people are living at the poverty level *now*. A billion of them are underfed *now*. Half the world's labor force is underemployed *now*. The capacity—or the willingness—of the less populated, more affluent countries to absorb immigrants in any significant numbers has almost been exhausted *now*. Even in the affluent countries, shortages of resources necessary to their mode of industrial and agricultural production are rapidly developing *now*.

It is possible—barely possible—that governments will be able, for the rest of this century, to mobilize the world's resources fast enough to feed, house, and employ the seven billion people who will be here in only 22 years. The earth's resources are not yet exhausted. But no thinking person believes that the earth's resources can be *exponentially* increased to meet the needs of a world population that is *exponentially* increasing. Anyone who imagines that our agricultural and mineral resources can be increased to provision 55 billion people by the year 2100, let alone the half-trillion that would then be on the way, should be writing science fiction. "Sorry to inform you, Mr. President, that the world's meat and grain supplies have been used up. But we've discovered a virtually inexhaustible source of protein—cockroaches!"

Common sense tells us that in proportion as the human end of the resources/people see-saw goes up, the resources end *must* go down.

The most popular politico-economic solution today to the imbalance between resources and people is, of course, socialism, or "sharing the wealth" between the resource-haves and the resource-have-nots. But it doesn't matter a hoot *who* owns the means of production when there's nothing to produce or to share—when the arable land, the breathable air, the ocean's fish population, and the earth's minerals give out.

That's why the second way to restore the resources/people balance is, in the end, the only possible way: decrease the number of living people to meet the level of available resources. This decrease, in turn, can be secured in two ways. The first is by an involuntary rise in the death rate. This is the way by which, throughout the millennia, man and nature together have contrived to keep human populations more or less in balance with available resources.

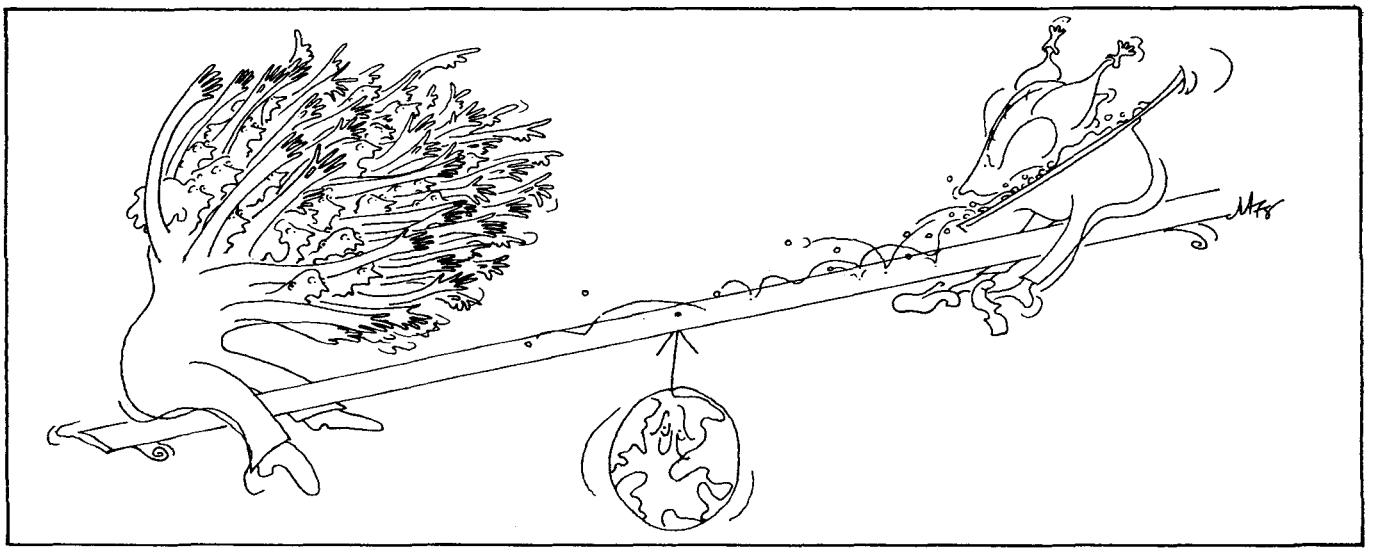
Man's best-known ways of liquidating human surpluses are these: prenatal infanticide (abortion), infanticide, geronticide, genocide (or mass slaughter of enemy populations),

Maternity is the poor and illiterate woman's only opus. *And her only masterpieces are her sons*

and—the most efficient of all man's killing ways—wars. Tribes, clans, cities, nations, have gone to war again and again when war seemed the best way—or the only way—to increase or defend their resources. (What is the U.S.-Soviet "ideological" conflict about except the best system for increasing resources for the greatest number of people?)

Nature lends a hand in raising the involuntary death rate with floods, hurricanes, droughts, volcanoes, eruptions, earthquakes, and tidal waves. But these, being occasional phenomena, are only marginally helpful, and then only when they strike in overcrowded areas. (Another ice age would, of course, be quite effective.)

But of all nature's ways of slowing down population growth, none are so effective as plague and starvation. Plagues are communicable diseases that spread like wildfire in overcrowded areas. And when all else fails, starvation, the



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great Malthusian population regulator, can always be counted on to stop the Pop Clock—temporarily.

But mankind instinctively rejects these cruel ways of handling the problem which has always faced it, the problem of dealing with the super-abundant fruits of womankind's loins.

The love of life and the fear of death are universal. All men (and all women) instinctively desire to *lower* the death rate. The proudest boast of modern science is that, in the last two centuries, it has virtually wiped out many of the greatest killers that, in past ages, were so effective in maintaining the resources/people balance. Smallpox, cholera, bubonic plague, malaria, tuberculosis, leprosy, polio, and a host of other dread diseases have now been virtually conquered.

THROUGHOUT HISTORY, the great and noble desire of all people of good will has been to wipe out war, that other foul scourge of the race. In the age of nuclear weapons, this desire has become a veritable passion, even among professional soldiers. They are keenly aware that nuclear war would mean the mutual destruction not only of entire populations, but of their resources, especially their food and mineral resources. The nuclear destruction or contamination of the great North American breadbasket or the Mideastern oil fields would be followed very shortly by worldwide starvation. This would, of course, set the Pop Clock back by a number of centuries. But as a way of resolving the world's overpopulation problem, it can appeal only to madmen.

The second way to decrease population is to lower the birth rate. Until the present century, no way of preventing people from being born—other than killing the child in the womb (generally along with the mother)—had been possible. As the Supreme Court noted in its 1973 abortion decision, "the weight of history" has been on the side of abortion—together, of course, with a great many other hateful forms of killing "unwanted" humans.

Far and away the most reliable way of reducing the birth rate is for people to refrain from coitus. But all the evidence of history is that this way hasn't the remotest chance of being accepted as a solution to the fertility problem. (*Amor omnia vincit.*) Fortunately, science has now come to the rescue by providing a variety of "scientific" birth-preventive methods, such as sterilization, vasectomies, IUDs and condoms, the Pill, and the rhythm method (now enjoying a comeback among people who don't need to use their ten fingers to count). As matters stand today, mankind's best chance of slowing down the Pop Clock lies in the voluntary use of these methods.

Their great defect is that they have proven least effective where they are most needed—in the desperately overpopulated countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. They have taken hold only in the affluent, industrialized countries, where women are well enough educated to figure out the benefits to themselves and their living children of small families—and, also, where women can acquire status, income, and emotional satisfaction other than through motherhood.

In most of the overpopulated, or Third World, countries, a woman's social status and economic security depend almost entirely on wife- and motherhood. In the absence of welfare and social-security programs, a woman's only old-age insurance is a large family. Maternity is the poor and illiterate woman's only *opus*. And her only masterpieces are her sons. Cultural attitudes toward maternity are changing in the overpopulated countries. But far too slowly to make any significant difference in their birth rates. What would be needed is massive, multi-billion-dollar birth-control programs, energetically supported by Third World governments. The only places this funding can come from are the affluent nations. There is no evidence that it will be forthcoming. Frantically occupied with controlling the *side*-effects of world overpopulation on their own economies and national security, they ignore the root cause of them—the uncontrolled fertility of the female of the species.

All the prognostications are that, sooner rather than later, those Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse—Famine, Plague, War, and Death—will again be charging down the highways of the world on their appointed task—cutting world population down to size. All realistic estimates of the overpopulation problem read like a Doomsday bulletin. And—so far—so has this one. But this writer's premise is that yet another article on the subject would not be worth writing, or reading, unless it had a reasonable hope to offer.

This reporter, not yet a perfect Cassandra, believes that science can come to the rescue. There is one quite possible scientific breakthrough in voluntary birth-control technology which not only could slow the Pop Clock fairly quickly, but would also provide a method of controlling the population growth rate permanently.

This is a male-child birth pill.

Every chicken-and-egg farmer knows that only *hens* lay eggs, and that the way to produce more chickens and eggs is

A male-child birth pill would seem to offer the quickest way of peacefully *slowing down the Pop Clock*

to increase his hen population. He knows that no increase, however great, in the cock population will affect the growth of his poultry population. The determining factor in the growth of *all* animal populations is not the birth rate of *offspring*, but the rate of *female* offspring.

Only women have babies. And only girl babies grow up to be women.

The world fertility rate today is 4.4 births per woman. Roughly half of these babies are females. Consider that if only one female baby were born per woman, even if the birth rate remained 4.4 children per woman, the world population growth rate would presently be reduced to zero. And if the world birth rate were only one female baby per *two* women, world population, instead of doubling, as it is now doing, every 34 years, would *un*double every 35 years. Anyone who owns a pocket computer can have fun figuring out how long it would take—at the rate, say, of two female births per three women—to reduce our hungry world of 4.3 billion to a well-fed two billion.

Chicken-and-egg farmers, who are food resource producers, prefer females. But for a complex of very ancient and

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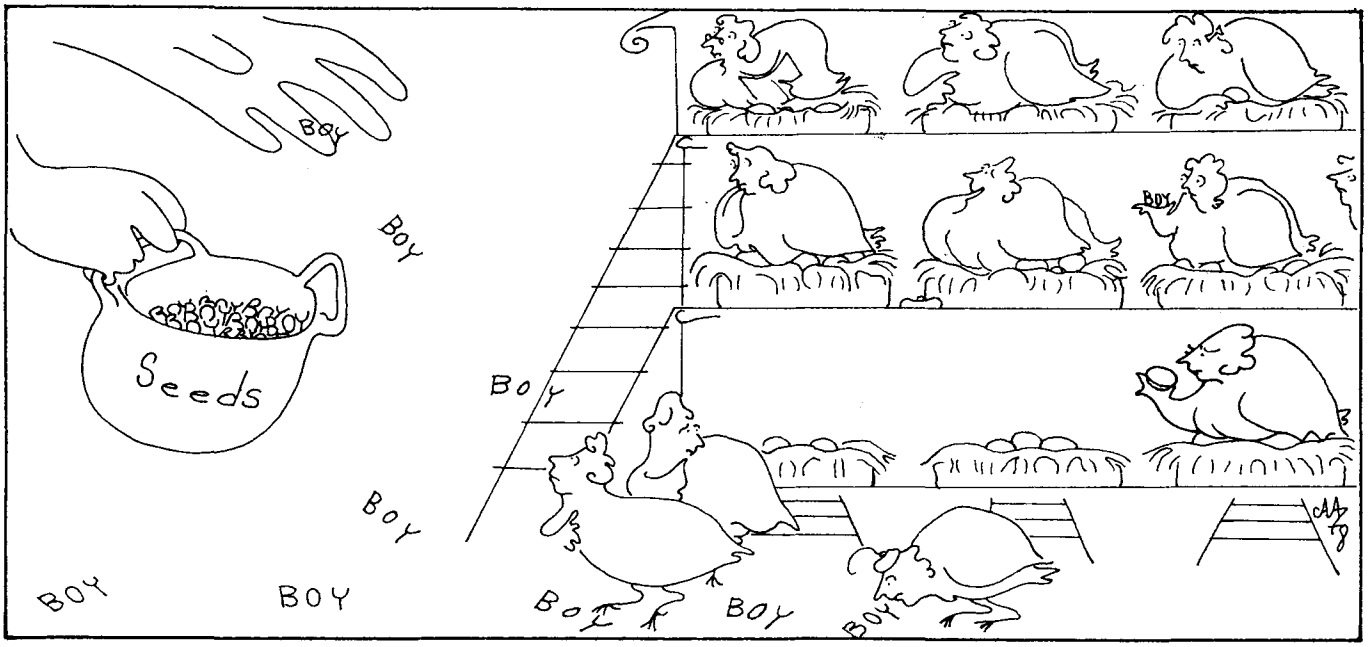

very deep-rooted cultural, religious, political, and economic reasons, there is a universal preference among human breeders, or parents, for males. Even in the affluent countries, the majority of women (let alone men) prefer to have sons. In the overpopulated countries, the preference for males amounts to an obsession. In these countries, a pill, unguent, or injection which, taken prior to coitus, would assure the birth of a son would come as man-ah! from Heaven. And it is only reasonable to suppose that, after having as many sons as they needed for status or old-age insurance, women would *then* begin voluntarily to limit the size of their families by resorting to one of the existing birth-*preventive* methods. The merit of this sex-determinant method is that it would work with, not against, the cultural attitudes of parents, especially in the overpopulated countries.

The defect of this method is that no male-child birth pill now exists. But since the discovery of the X and Y sex-determinant chromosomes, the plausibility of a sex-determinant method has been much discussed among geneticists and biologists. It would seem that what has delayed research into it was partly the hope that existing "family planning" methods would be accepted where they were most needed, and partly objections to the sociological effects of a widespread use of a male-child birth pill.

Nature seems to have programmed women to bear between 12 and twenty children, male and female in almost equal numbers. Fortunately for the conservation of the earth's resources, very few women, for one reason or another, ever fulfill their natural quota. But they do continue to give birth to as many females as males.

Obviously, a population imbalance between females and males would result in many sociological changes, and not all of them would be happy. Polyandrous marriage, for example, might begin to replace monandrous marriage. This thought seems to be peculiarly distasteful to men—although they have seldom balked at polygamy as the solution to a population imbalance in the other direction. Or, as women became rarer, men might quarrel endlessly over them, and even take to killing one another for the privilege of possessing a woman exclusively (i.e., spreading their own particular genes). This egotistic passion would probably result in raising the involuntary death rate among surplus inseminators. But it would also help restore the balance between the sexes without increasing population growth. Or women, becoming rare, and consequently even more desirable to men than they are now, might be able, for the first time in history, to dictate their own terms for the improvement of their living conditions and status. (You boys do the housework; *I'll* get the education!) And having a greater choice among inseminators, they could, like queen bees, pick the ablest, smartest, and strongest of their suitors. Almost certainly, homosexuality would increase, as it always does in predominantly male environments. (The world might come to resemble a vast English public school.) And so on. But whatever the adverse effects on society of lowering the rate of female births, they would be infinitely more tolerable than the horrors and catastrophes mankind is *doomed* to endure if it fails much longer to slow down the birth rate of females.

It should be pointed out here that the compulsory sterilization of nubile females in the numbers necessary to reduce population growth to zero, or below, would also succeed. But there is no government strong enough, or contemptuous enough of human freedom and the dignity of women, to impose such a solution on its own people. (One can, however, imagine the Soviet victors in a Sino-Soviet war ordering the mass sterilization of Chinese women.) A male-child birth pill would thus seem to offer the quickest way of *peacefully* slowing down the Pop Clock.

All humanists and moralists should welcome any voluntary population control method that would not rely for its effectiveness in the overpopulated countries on the drastic contraction of family size, or, in the affluent countries, on the destruction, through abortion, of human life, and cultural and religious values.

What theological objections could the Pope himself raise to a birth-control method that simply permitted parents to choose a son in preference to a daughter? After all, God did. □

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LETTER FROM LONDON

When to Call the Election?

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

WHEN WIND AND TIDE are set in opposite directions, the surface movement of the water can be very misleading; deep-flowing currents underneath are not visible, although experienced persons may be aware of them. The British political scene at the moment is conventionally supposed to present a rather similar phenomenon. The underlying trend is said to be quite strongly to the right, but the surface remains ambiguously choppy, and the bleak prevailing wind is still blowing leftward.

Sir Keith Joseph, an interesting, if nervous, thinker, who has special responsibility for developing—or at least thinking about—the policies of the Conservative Party, believes that the great majority of the electorate is firmly on the Conservative side about law and order, about colored immigration, about schools (one very left-wing trade union leader went so far as to say recently that "concern about educational standards is no longer reactionary"), but is still thoroughly imbued with socialist ideas about the welfare state and about economic issues generally.

On the other hand, there can be little doubt that at university level (among undergraduates, if not among lecturers), and I should say among intelligent young people as a whole, a big shift has taken place away from woolly collectivism and toward free-market economics. Keynesianism is out, monetarism in. Admittedly, when Milton Friedman spoke at St. Andrew's University a few weeks ago, he was heckled by militant left-wingers, and Sir Keith Joseph was actually prevented from speaking at the London School of Economics (he refused to sign a left-wing document about colored immigration which was thrust on him when he arrived): but such bad behavior is deplored by most undergraduates, and it is now quite acceptable, even fashionable in the better universities, to be a Conservative.

This change of intellectual climate may become more evident in the media and in the professions during the next few years, as a new generation moves into positions of influence—although the attractions of a boom industry are also pulling young people into the bureaucracy, which means they acquire a vested interest in collectivism

Meanwhile, two things keep many people pinned—perhaps contrary to their own convictions—somewhere left of center. They have been surrounded for so long by the assumptions, the vocabulary, and the institutions of socialism that they are genuinely doubtful whether a modern and compassionate community can be run in any other way: and they are scared of the trade unions.

The Unions' Grip

For a significant proportion of the working class (though by no means a majority), loyalty to their union is a matter of almost religious faith. Meanwhile a much bigger group, from all social classes, believes unquestioningly—because they have never heard it seriously questioned—that the unions are a legitimate and necessary protection for workers. The largest group, however, almost certainly a majority of the electorate, has watched with detestation the increasing arrogance of the unions and their control over the Labor government: but, because the unions are so powerful and so capable of disrupting everyday life, few people are willing to challenge them, personally or politically. The Labor Party and the union leaders are playing on this fear. A Conservative government, they warn, would mean industrial chaos.

The Conservative reply—or, at least, the reply given by Margaret Thatcher, the Conservative leader, contrary to the real view of some of her colleagues —is that, since Conservatives believe in freedom, including the freedom to negotiate wages, they would not attempt again (as they have in the past) to control incomes, except indirectly by controlling the money supply; so there would be no occasion for a head-on clash with the unions.

But would a Conservative government not try to bring the unions back within the rule of law? Would it not prevent intimidatory picketing? Would it not forbid, or at least mitigate the effects of, the closed shop? And would not the mere attempt to do such things spark off a violent confrontation?

The answer is unclear because the Conservative Party is sharply divided. The division is not so much among the rank-and-file of the party faithful, who would overwhelmingly support strong measures to curb the unions, but among Mrs. Thatcher's own senior colleagues, many of whom—especially those who were most closely associated with Edward Heath's government—are constantly dragging at the hem of her skirt, urging her to be more "moderate" and less doctrinaire, to repudiate any tendency toward right-wing radicalism. She is in danger, they say, of alarming all those voters who want a quiet life. The Prime Minister, James Callaghan (who has been given the first Hubert Humphrey International Award, and rightly so), is making a deliberate and specious play for just these middle-of-the-road voters. They may come to feel that voting Socialist is the conservative thing to do.

Mrs. Thatcher isn't really a right-wing radical or indeed an original thinker of any kind: but her instincts are further to the right, her principles harder-edged and less pragmatic, than those of her recent predecessors. She hectors too much (too much like a bossy woman, some would say), but she is certainly very determined.

She needs to be. An incoming Conservative government would have to tackle the key issues immediately and boldly. Really big cuts must be made in the top rates of taxation (currently 83 per cent for earned income and about 98 per cent for investment income), and a series of substantial cuts all down the tax scale should be irrevocably pledged. To pay for them,

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equally big cuts must be made in public expenditure. The civil service unions will resist, and the Labor Party will shout the slogans of class warfare: but these congenital enemies (the civil service unions not only have a vested interest in high public spending but are openly left-wing) could not be appeased by anything which a Conservative government could respectably do, and with every month which passes after an election the cobwebs of inertia, the cocoon of familiar collectivist assumptions, will become thicker and harder to break.

Leftward, Ho!

Win or lose, the Labor Party will move still further left after the next election. At least 46 present Labor MPs are known to have current or recent connections with Communist, Trotskyist, or other Marxist organizations. Twelve—including Anthony Wedgwood Benn, who hopes, not implausibly, to become leader of the Labor Party—belong to the Institute for Workers' Control, which was founded by Trotskyists in 1968. The Labor Party's National Youth Officer, Andy Bevan, was appointed despite being an admitted Trotskyist. And the Marxists have been getting a tighter and tighter grip on the local machinery of the Labor Party; so that, when elderly Labor MPs retire, there is an increasing tendency for them to be replaced by candidates from the far Left.

This is the reality behind Mr. Callaghan's air of bluff moderation. If the Conservatives fail to win next time, the erosion of freedom in Britain will not only continue but accelerate. Even if they were to win, it may be difficult to persuade ambitious and energetic young people that the tide has turned sufficiently for them to have faith in the future; to start building businesses, accumulating capital, planning their careers, without being afraid that another Labor government, in a few years' time, will snatch it all away from them; to choose to stay in Britain rather than emigrate.

What are the chances of a Conservative win? The omens are too doubtful for any confident prediction. Reading newspaper editorials and letters to the press, and talking to the man-in-the-street, the man-on-the-bus, the man-in-the-pub, makes one feel that there has indeed been a movement of opinion to the right, a profound revulsion from over-government and over-taxation: but this movement has occurred, if indeed it's not just an illusion, beneath a continued surface of welfare-state assumptions ("the government should *do* something") and apathetic acceptance of decline.

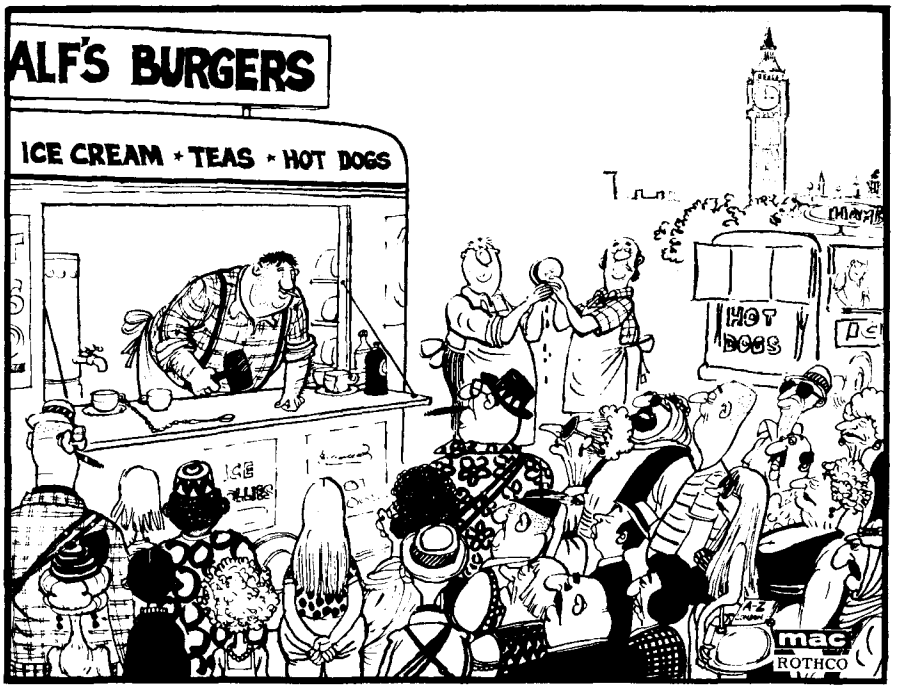
The election won't, anyway, be determined by arguments. Elections rarely are, and British politics at the moment are criss-crossed with complexities. Whether Scottish Nationalism has passed its peak, what the Ulster Unionists do, what happens to the Liberal Party, how the colored immigrants vote, and how other voters respond to the issue of colored immigration—any of these questions, or any combination of them, could be conclusive.

The Eye of the Storm

But much the most generally important factor will be the economic situation, or rather how the economic situation is perceived, in the weeks immediately before the election. Again, what's happening on the surface and what's happening underneath are very different. On the surface, Britain's economy is moving in a favorable direction; inflation has been considerably reduced, some taxes have been slightly reduced, and average incomes are going up a little faster than the cost of living. Underneath, however, the economy is swirling toward another crisis; the money supply has slipped out of control; the real burden of taxation has gone up enormously and is still going up; inflation is rising again; unemployment remains high, productivity catastrophically low.

Mr. Callaghan's tactical objective is to hold the election (he can call it whenever he likes before October 1979) in, as it were, the eye of the storm; at a moment when people are feeling that the Labor government has calmed things down, and before the renewed blast hits them. It is a tricky calculation.

Euphoria and pessimism, developments favoring one party and developments favoring the other, seem to alternate as rapidly as clouds scudding across the face of the water. The results of the recent municipal elections and of the latest opinion polls show that, after all the traumas and disasters of the past few years, Britain is still split clean down the middle politically; which is perhaps the most depressing omen of all. □



Mac, *London Daily Mail* Rothco

"Lot 71. A lovely greasy hamburger with tomato sauce. Do I hear a pound?"

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help !!!!
THOSE WHO CAN, DO. THOSE WHO CAN'T, BECOME SOCIAL BENEFACTORS WITH OTHER PEOPLES MONEY
"THE LEGEND" EVOLVES WHEN ALL DETERGENTS FAIL
WALK WIDE OF THE VOLUBLE SHREWDIE WHO TREADS ON NO TOES
AN OPEN SOCIETY, CONSISTING OF THE CLOSED SHOP, PREDATORY TAXATION, COMPULSORY ASSOCIATION AND GOVERNMENT REGULATION OF EVERY PHASE OF LIFE EXCEPT CRIME, ISN'T VERY OPEN
CAUGHT REGULARLY WITH THEIR PANTS DOWN, JUGGLERS OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND CRIME FIGURES ARE UNDISMAYED
OBSESSION WITH ONES OWN ETHNIC INTERESTS IS A POOR QUALIFICATION FOR PUBLIC OFFICE IN A POLYGLOT SOCIETY
THE CONSTITUTION PROVIDED FOR EVERY CONTINGENCY EXCEPT ONE: LAWYERS
THE RUDE NAME FOR QUOTAISM IS REVERSE GENOCIDE
THE COMMON LAW PROVIDED FOR EVERY CONTINGENCY EXCEPT ONE: PSYCHIATRISTS
LABOR-GOVERNMENT-CORPORATE-CRONYISM AND TAX-FREE FOUNDATIONS ARE CANNIBALIZING THE FREE MARKET
IN THE ECONOMY OF NATURE, THE LABEL-ILLITERATE AND THE IDIOT-AT-THE-WHEEL PICK UP WHERE FLOODS, EARTHQUAKES AND EPIDEMICS LEAVE OFF
"THE DROOL POOL!"
THERE'S NO SUCH THING AS AN HONEST DISAGREEMENT
Kreuttner

From Authorized Pre-"Edited" version of *The Boggle*, by John Kreuttner.

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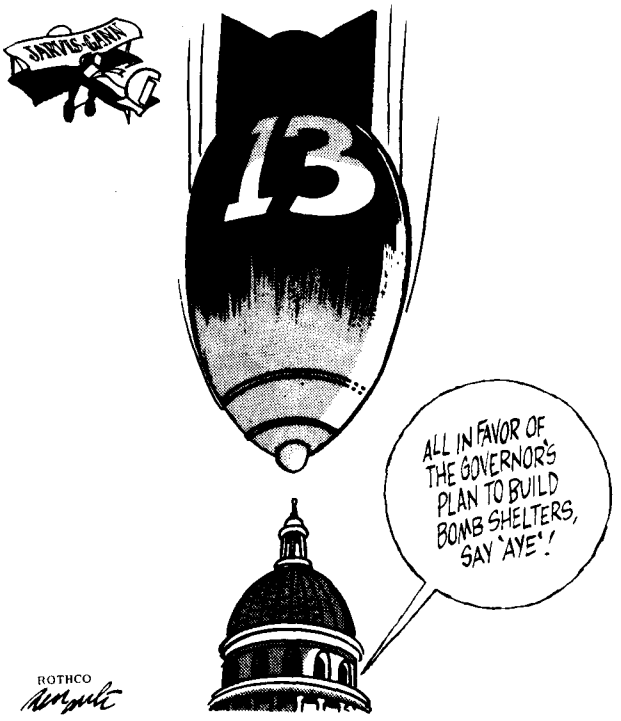
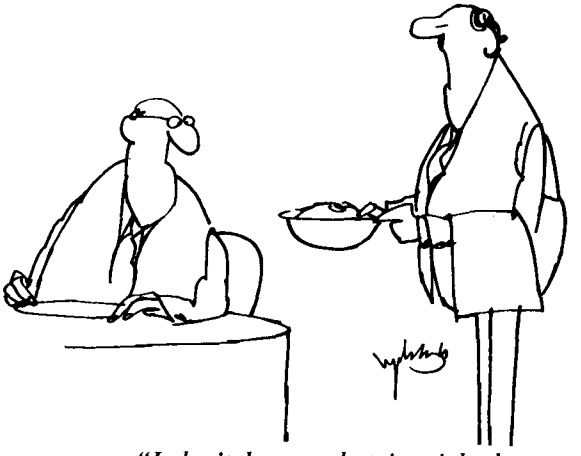
Through a Pollster Darkly

Astrology is trendy in the East;
In Bangkok, king and coolie read the stars.
It's triumphed over saffron-skirted priest—
Though Mrs. Gandhi's hooked on genie-jars.
Here in the West the vulgar favor bars
Where sympathetic waiters lend an ear.
Advice is often bought with battle scars,
While headaches leave the supplicant unclear.
The upper classes often seek a seer
Or pollsters with computers that foretell.
In Washington, the President's career
Is fashioned by the pollster Pat Caddell.
Between the methods East and West employ,
I'd say they're doing better in Hanoi.

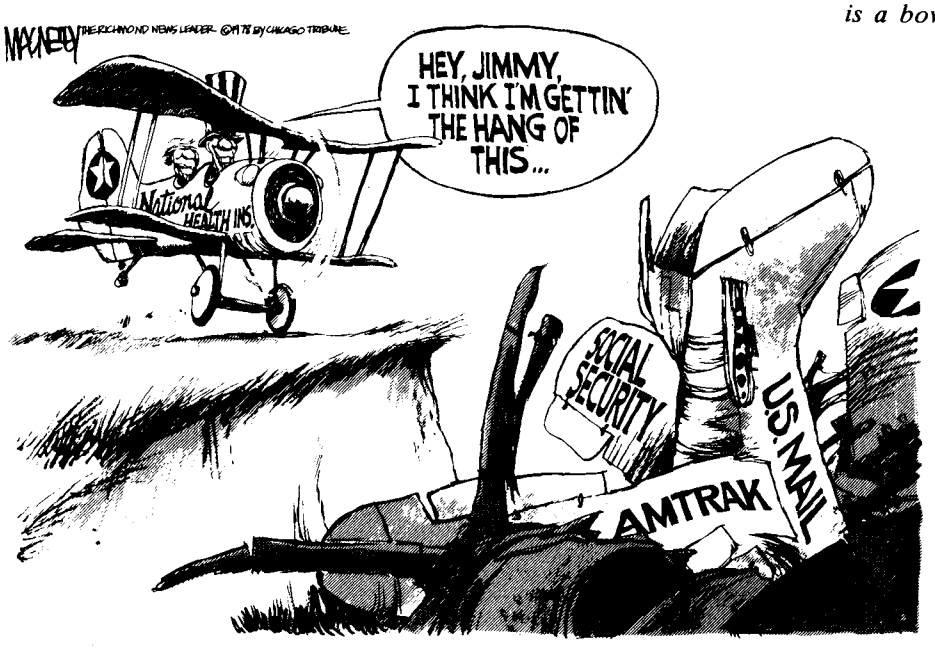
W. H. VON DREELE

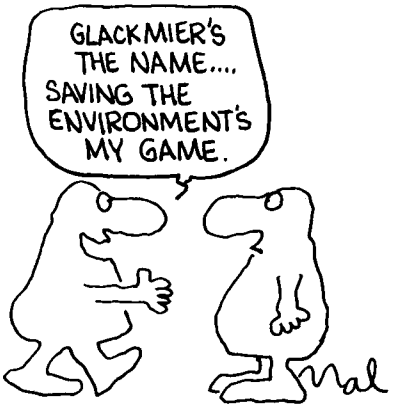


CIVIL DEFENSE



"I don't know what it might be in other rèstaurants, but here, a Surf and Turf is a bowl of grass in salt water."


MACNELLY THE RICHMOND NEWS LEADER ©1978 BY CHICAGO TRIBUNE
HEY, JIMMY, I THINK I'M GETTIN' THE HANG OF THIS...
National HEALTH INS.
SOCIAL SECURITY
U.S. MAIL
AMTRAK



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THE CONSERVATIVE CHALLENGE

Though 'principled egalitarianism' has been refuted by logic and the experience of such as Italy, Britain, and much of the Third World, its American adherents haven't yet lost the faith. Herewith some explanations and suggestions

Egalitarianism in America

GEORGE NASH

WRITING IN THE EARLY 1960s, Willmoore Kendall declared with characteristic iconoclasm:

> . . . if the future of individual initiative depends on . . . containing the advance of leveling for the sake of leveling, of principled egalitarianism, then . . . we can safely say that private initiative is safe for the foreseeable future because, as far as this threat is concerned, there exists in America a healthy public opinion which, when the chips are down, is against leveling.

Several years later, in the election of 1972, Kendall's pronouncement was vindicated, when the American electorate emphatically rejected the presidential candidacy of George McGovern. Certainly, one cause of McGovern's defeat was that he was popularly perceived as a proponent of ill-conceived radical economics.

Today, half a decade after the electoral demise of McGovern, to what extent is Willmoore Kendall's confidence still warranted? As I study conservative and neo-conservative analyses published in the past year or two, I am rather surprised by a note of optimism which many distinguished observers now express. In *Commentary* Stephen Miller of the National Endowment for the Humanities has written an article entitled "The Poverty of Socialist Thought." In *The American Spectator* Irving Kristol has published an "obituary" chronicling "the most important political event of the twentieth century": "the death of socialism." In *NR* Stephen Tonsor has forthrightly declared that the future "does not belong to social democracy," which he classifies along with Communism as "profoundly reactionary." Increasingly, it seems, conservatives are boldly asserting that socialism—the ideology of "principled egalitarianism"—is intellectually bankrupt: in Kristol's words, "void of all meaning, and frequently of all humane substance as well."

Politically, also, many conservatives appear to be rather sanguine. If I read the journals of the Right correctly, the year 1977 was not a disastrous one for the opponents of egalitarianism. At the congressional level, in fact, the year's battles seemed to end in a draw, as conservatives succeeded in blocking undesirable legislation and as conservative currents in the country impinged on the consciousness of nervous liberal politicians. The continued setbacks for the Equal Rights Amendment, the defeat of a "populist" candidate for governor in Virginia—these are but two indications that Willmoore Kendall's remark may still be valid, and the American people still do remain opposed to leveling.

But alas, as we all know, this is not the entire story. If "principled egalitarianism" has been decisively refuted by logic and experience, much of the world is not yet aware of this fact. In countries like Italy, France, and England, not to mention much of the Third World, the passion for equality of results, often expressed in vulgar Marxist form, persists and even gathers strength. Socialist thought may be moribund, but the proponents of "North-South dialogue" and a "new international economic order" seem blissfully oblivious. Last fall the Spanish Communist leader Santiago Carrillo lectured on "Eurocommunism" at Harvard University; 1,200 people attended—a symptom, I think, of the continued throbbing of the egalitarian pulse. The Equal Rights Amendment may or may not be defeated; the Electoral College may or may not be abolished; President Carter's tax reform proposals may or may not have been motivated by redistributionist assumptions. Egalitarianism is not yet an invincible force in our political life. But no one can deny that it continues to influence the agenda of American politics.

Sharing over Producing

Is Willmoore Kendall's contention, then, no longer valid? Let us analyze the phenomenon of "principled egalitarianism" more closely. First, it is erroneous to identify egalitarian sentiment with the jockeying of traditional interest groups for favors from the Federal Government. The demands of labor unions for an increase in the minimum wage, the plea of steelworkers for limits on imports from Japan, the procession of farmers in tractors demanding government subsidies—all of these claims may displease conservatives. But they do not, in my judgment, necessarily reflect any yearning for radical redistribution of wealth or for worldly equality of condition. Rather, they represent a desire—misguided though it may be in many instances—for *fairness*, for equity vis-à-vis other groups in society. And in the minds of most Americans, equity is not identical with equality.

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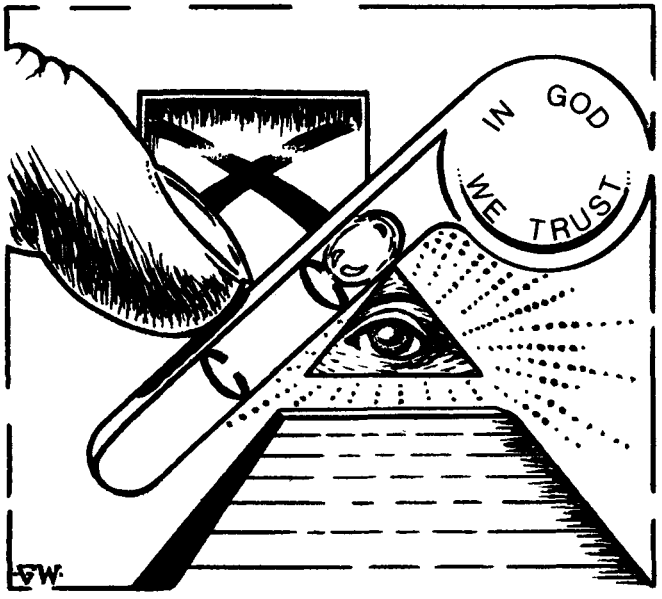
But if this is so, where, then, *does* explicitly egalitarian sentiment reside in America? On this point conservative analysts appear to be unanimous: it is essentially a class phenomenon, whose appeal is confined to the upper-middle-class intelligentsia with its allies in the media and the bureaucracy. When a Carrillo comes to the United States for a lecture tour, he does not address the AFL-CIO; he visits the Ivy League. When a George McGovern and a Fred Harris run for President, their principal support comes not from a mythical proletariat but from intellectuals and from what someone has called "Gucci populists."

These observations are perhaps reasonably familiar to conservatives, who have grown accustomed in recent years to such categories of analysis as "new class," "knowledge sector," and "verbalists," not to mention such disparaging epithets of yesteryear as "limousine liberals." But while it is easy enough to identify the locus of egalitarianism in our country, it is more difficult to explain why it should have such a persistent allure.

It is, of course, impossible to answer this question comprehensively in the brief space available to me. But from a variety of remote and proximate causes let me select two which in my judgment have not been sufficiently emphasized, at least by conservative intellectuals.

The first of these factors is the environmentalist movement. Now I do not believe that there is a necessary or total conflict between conservatism and the conservationist ethic. Indeed, it seems to me that conservatism properly *should* be conservationist in two senses: preservation of the aesthetic treasures of the American outdoors and judicious use of our national resources. I concur with former Senator James Buckley that "their very instinct ought to propel conservatives into the forefront of the environmental movement."

Nevertheless, the present-day environmentalist crusade has undeniably developed an animus against the free market and the private ownership of property. Conservative columnists and politicians have been quick to oppose this threat in such areas as land use planning and have frequently emphasized the elitist aspects of environmentalism. However, it is not these conspicuous features of environmentalist agitation which require our attention. What I wish to suggest is that environmentalism as a mind-set has, in the past decade, become congruent with socialist modes of thought. In its seemingly reflexive hostility to economic growth and in its emphasis on the specter of exhaustible natural resources, radical environmentalism has encouraged us to conceive of our environment and our economy as a closed system which cannot and must not expand. It is the very assumption out of which socialism can arise. The era of capitalist expansion is over, egalitarianism seems to say; now we must adjust to a shrinking, "mature" economy. It is no longer imperative to increase prosperity and guarantee upward mobility. Rather, we must "redistribute" the wealth that we already have. Someone has remarked that capitalism multiplies wealth while socialism divides it. It seems evident that a parallel exists between socialist attitudes toward wealth and extreme environmentalist attitudes toward natural resources and economic development. To the extent that environmentalism ceases to be a philosophy of prudence and becomes a doctrinaire foe of economic freedom and innovation, it helps to create a constrictive society in which "sharing" the wealth takes precedence over producing it.



Abuses of the System

Whether a free society can survive under such constraints seems problematic. More than forty years ago Herbert Hoover—himself a conservationist and lifelong foe of waste—warned us of the danger implicit in the notion of a closed, stagnant society:

> When we concede that progress is ended we concede that hope and new opportunity have departed. That is the concept of a static nation. It is necessarily the philosophy of decadence. No society can become static, it must go forward or back. . . . No society will function without confidence in its future opportunities.

A second source of egalitarian sentiment lies in the very dynamics of the modern welfare state. Far from being the preconceived product of rigid egalitarianism, the welfare system and the attitudes it fosters are themselves partly responsible for the egalitarian temptation.

Consider the argument. Why should the magnetism of the ideology of coercive equality be so evident at the present time? Is it because of newly revealed imperfections in a free society? Or could it be that the very evils which egalitarians ascribe to a free society—the alleged unfairness of rewards and rule of chance—are in fact increasingly visible defects of the welfare state itself?

Advocates of egalitarianism appear to believe that "social" and "collective" decisions made through political channels will necessarily be more equitable than the judgments of the marketplace. They appear to assume that *political* apportionment of worldly goods will be accepted as legitimate because of universal participation in the political process. Recent experience, however, increasingly belies these expectations. Thanks to the Great Society and the growth of the welfare state, never has our political system been as pervasive and theoretically participatory as it is today. Yet rarely has this system been more widely regarded as corrupt. Almost every person one meets can recite an authentic anecdote about the

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abuses of "the system": Medicaid mills, welfare frauds, food stamp cheating, OSHA (Occupational Safety and Health Administration) regulations, affirmative action, and many more. The increasing intrusion of government into the marketplace has failed to engender a deeper sense of equity.

On the contrary, governmental decision-making has generated its own array of vices and injustices. For example, the severance of merit from reward has facilitated the imposition of government-sanctioned job quotas and discrimination, with an attendant residue of inequity, hypocrisy, and bitterness. The more the welfare state permeates society, the more illegitimate our society is perceived to be.

One Great Rip-Off

And so we encounter a seemingly accelerating cycle of cynicism and resentment. The hankering for equality of results thrives on a belief that our traditional social structure is capricious, illogical, and unfair. Today this perception is spreading precisely because of the welfare state itself—a mechanism which has yet to devise a satisfactory rationale for its own distribution of income and rewards. The "collective" allocation of resources by political means is now widely seen to be at least as arbitrary and unjust as the free society it strives to replace. Yet the ensuing disillusionment, the insidious temptation simply to regard all society as one great rip-off, may only undermine our social order further, thereby actually enhancing the prospects for more drastic ventures in egalitarianism.

What, then, to borrow a phrase from Lenin, is to be done? If, as I have suggested, egalitarianism as an ideology lacks a mass base in the United States, then presumably the non-ideological masses should be amenable to conservative evangelism. For several years now, ever since the heyday of the Silent Majority, many conservative activists have been proceeding upon this assumption. If our governing elites are infected by an egalitarian virus, then let conservatives mobilize the "virtuous people": this has been the model for many a conservative strategist. We need only open our morning's correspondence and read our daily quota of direct-mail fund-appeals to realize how assiduously some of our brethren are working in these vineyards. And with considerable effect, too. Surely one element in conservatism's political success in 1977 was its energetic mobilization of public opinion.

And yet I cannot refrain from observing that America in 1978 is not really *governed* from the grass roots. The country may be moving to the right, but the Administration in Washington often heeds different voices. Three-quarters of the American people oppose busing, yet busing continues. A large majority of the American people opposes racial quotas and believes in the merit principle, but egalitarian edicts continue to emanate from Washington. In fact, they may even be sanctioned by the Supreme Court before this year ends. For all the conservative intellectual advances in the realm of deregulation, the web of the regulatory state spins on, seemingly almost impervious to rational criticism.

I can offer here no panaceas—only some suggestions. First, conservatives must continue to produce and disseminate the informed policy studies now issuing forth in a virtual torrent from the Hoover Institution, American Enterprise Institute, Center for Constructive Alternatives, Institute for Contemporary Studies, Heritage Foundation, et al.—a burgeoning network of respected scholars and institutions. Such documented and sophisticated literature does have some impact on the congressional staffs, senior bureaucrats, and others in the "knowledge sector" who have been identified as peculiarly susceptible to egalitarianism. It is not enough to inveigh against the "new class." It is not enough to orchestrate popular indignation against bureaucratic folly. If egalitarian ideas have consequences, conservative ideas can also have consequences—even in unlikely places. Conservatives therefore must intensify their intellectual missionary efforts among skeptical "verbalists." For better or for worse, we are going to be ruled for years to come by those who purport to be well-educated. Very well; let us educate them.

Secondly, in 1978 more than ever before, conservatives have a veritable arsenal of powerful symbols and cogent arguments with which to confront the minions of egalitarian ideology. Abroad: Italy, Great Britain, and the future that doesn't work. At home: the debacle of New York City, the Bakke case, and the staggering increase in Social Security taxes. I suspect that even some proponents of grandiose governmental social programs will hesitate as the burden of Social Security taxation sinks into popular consciousness. Experience is validating the conservative critique; let conservatives therefore take the offensive and present their case with a rhetorical concreteness long denied them.

202nd Year

I would not be so naive as to conclude that the force of logic and experience will inevitably be victorious. Conservatives especially should be cognizant of the fragility of reason in a world of passion. Moreover, if a patient has cancer, it is too late merely to inform him of the statistics and arguments against smoking. If the sheer, lumbering momentum of the regulatory welfare state is to be reversed, additional strategies may also be required. I doubt that conservatives can rely solely upon attempts to repeal obnoxious regulations or to abolish unpalatable programs. These may be necessary and noble objectives, but frontal assaults are frequently futile. Perhaps, therefore, conservatives should concurrently emphasize other measures (such as tax cuts) designed to expand the private sector in our economy and therefore reduce the *relative* impact of the so-called public sector. It is an approach associated particularly with Representative Jack Kemp of New York, and it appears to offer promise. If one of the most dangerous features of the welfare state is its inherent tendency to politicize and thereby destabilize a free society, then conservatives should strive to augment the spheres of immunity from its grasp.

Recently Zbigniew Brzezinski observed that the most urgent question we face in 1978 is this: Can our free institutions survive? I am reminded of a line from a song in the movie *Nashville*: "We must be doing something right to last two hundred years." Now, in America's 202nd year, conservatives must articulate anew what our free society has been "doing right"—and what its adversaries have been doing wrong. Perhaps the contrast will yet prove to be persuasive. □

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THE STEEL CRUNCH

Mr. A. Goes to Youngstown

RICHARD BROOKHISER

When Congressmen Philip Crane and Mickey Edwards traveled to Youngstown, Ohio last winter, to meet with local union leaders and develop a tax-cutting, free-market solution to Youngstown's woes (see "A Working Man's GOP?" *NR*, June 9), they were not alone. For Youngstown's troubles have attracted other visitors as well, who have quite different remedies.

Late last September, Youngstown Sheet and Tube announced that it was shutting down its 77-year-old Campbell Works, throwing some five thousand people out of their jobs. U.S. Steel, calling the Youngstown situation "dismal," also announced that it would consolidate local operations. Youngstown did not lack company. A week earlier, Alan Wood, a small firm outside Philadelphia, had gone bankrupt, while Bethlehem Steel was on its way to posting the largest quarterly loss of any company in American history. The Carter Administration accordingly threw together a task force which considered various options for Youngstown—including "community and/or worker takeover."

Taking Over

Parts of the community, it turned out, were willing to take over. On December 12, the Ecumenical Coalition of the Mahoning Valley—officered by Bishop James Malone (Catholic), Bishop John Burt (Episcopal), Bishop James Thomas (United Methodist), and Rabbi Sidney Berkowitz—declared in a press conference that Youngstown Sheet and Tube had "failed the test of stewardship." Some form of worker or community ownership "ought [therefore] to be explored as a creative response. . . . It is our profound hope that the Federal Government will join in partnership with our community to fashion a new road to economic health and well-being for the Mahoning Valley—and to do so in a manner which can suggest new directions for other communities as well." Putting their money where their hopes were, the clerics commissioned a study from the Exploratory Project for Economic Alternatives, under the direction of Messrs. Gar Alperovitz and Jeff Faux.

Gar Alperovitz first made his name as a revisionist historian of the cold war, then shifted, in the mid-Sixties, to economics. "Community and/or worker" ownership is indeed something of a specialty with him. In 1968, he co-authored, with John McClaughry, formerly of the Ripon Society, the Community Self-Determination Act. It was a time when both liberals and conservatives professed to be anxious to disperse power from Washington; yet the Alperovitz-McClaughry scheme went a good deal beyond dispersal. "Commity control of *outside* resources in reality means very little," wrote Alperovitz at the time. ". . . Those who recognize that economic development is a good idea may also see that funds for community social services might be derived from the efforts of the community itself." The bill called for local Community Development Corporations, sandbagged by federal funds, to buy and manage businesses, and channel the profits into "basic education, child welfare, day-care, pre-school training, health, consumer education, home-ownership counseling, college placement assistance, job finding, recreation, and legal aid, among other services [lest anything be left out]."

The Community Self-Determination Act died, but Alperovitz went on. In 1975, he and Faux (a former director of the Office of Economic Opportunity) appeared before the National Democratic Issues Convention in Louisville. Community ownership was still on the Alperovitz agenda, but his sights had widened; "key demands," according to the *Washington Post*, included "public ownership of corporations in energy, defense, and transportation; employee ownership and management in the rest of the corporate structure . . . and economic planning in the hands of local councils."

Summoned now by Youngstown's lords spiritual, Alperovitz has gone yet further. On December 20, the Commerce Department held a meeting on the Youngstown problem in Washington. Present were local politicians, labor leaders, businessmen—and Alperovitz. Commerce made an offer—if the locals could settle on a single proposal, Commerce would scare up $300,000 to fund a crash study of it. On December 30, the money (from HUD) was awarded to Alperovitz' Exploratory Project for Economic Alternatives.

The Hand That Bit Them

Alperovitz aside, it is ironic that the people of Youngstown should seek guidance from the institution which first brought their troubles upon them. All the huffing and puffing about foreign competition begs the question why foreign steelmakers have found American producers such easy marks; and the answer to that is a quarter-century of government intervention. Pollution controls have been crippling—the Youngstown shutdown came on the heels of a court ruling against a proposal to exempt eight Ohio steel mills from federal clear-water standards. But government price-setting has been worse. Since 1952, when Truman seized the steel mills, the steel industry has been the favorite foil for anti-inflationary theatrics—with the result that German and Japanese companies now produce with computers, while their capital-shy American counterparts struggle along with equipment that is Dickensian. Modernizing the Campbell Works now, according to one study, could cost over $500 million.

Alperovitz' group reports early in July. If a Community Development Corporation comes into being, it will seek federal loan guarantees, as well as contributions from national church organizations. And the future does not end in Youngstown. Last winter, there concluded a White House Conference on Balanced National Growth, to "develop recommendations" for dealing with "the country's social and economic needs." Among the official participants was—Gar Alperovitz. □

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ALEKSANDR SOLZHENITSYN

A World Split Apart

I AM SINCERELY HAPPY to be here with you on this occasion and to become personally acquainted with this old and most prestigious university. My congratulations and very best wishes to all of today's graduates.

Harvard's motto is Veritas. Many of you have already found out, and others will find out in the course of their lives, that truth eludes us if we do not concentrate with total attention on its pursuit. And even while it eludes us, the illusion still lingers of knowing it, and that leads to many misunderstandings. Also, truth seldom is pleasant; it is almost invariably bitter. There is some bitterness in my speech today, too. But I want to stress that it comes not from an adversary but from a friend.

Three years ago in the United States I said certain things which at that time appeared unacceptable. Today, however, many people agree with what I then said . . .

The split in today's world is perceptible even at a hasty glance. Any of our contemporaries can readily identify two world powers, each of them already capable of entirely destroying the other. However, understanding of the split often is limited to this political conception, to the illusion that danger may be abolished through successful diplomatic negotiations or by achieving a balance of armed forces. The truth is that the split is a much profounder and more alienating one, that the rifts are more than one can see at first glance. This deep, manifold split bears the danger of manifold disaster for all of us, in accordance with the ancient truth that a Kingdom—in this case, our Earth—divided against itself cannot stand.

Then there is the concept of the Third World: thus, we already have three worlds. Undoubtedly, however, the number is even greater; we are just too far away to see. Any ancient, deeply rooted, autonomous culture, especially if it is spread over a wide part of the earth's surface, constitutes an autonomous world, full of riddles and surprises to Western thinking. At a minimum, we must include in this category China, India, the Muslim world, and Africa, if indeed we accept the approximation of viewing the latter two as compact units. For one thousand years Russia belonged to such a category, although Western thinking systematically committed the mistake of denying its autonomous character and therefore never understood it, just as today the West does not understand Russia in Communist captivity. It may be that Japan has increasingly become a distant part of the West, I am no judge here; but as to Israel, for instance, it seems to me that it stands apart from the Western world in that its state system is fundamentally linked to religion.

HOW SHORT a time ago, relatively, the small new European world was easily seizing colonies everywhere, not only without anticipating any real resistance but also usually despising the conquered peoples and denying any possible value in their approach to life. On the face of it, it was an overwhelming success. There were no geographic frontiers to it; Western society expanded in a triumph of human independence and power. Then all of a sudden, in the twentieth century, came the discovery of its fragility and friability. We now see that the conquests were short-lived and precarious, and this in turn points to defects in the Western view of the world which led to these conquests. Relations with the former colonial world now have turned to the opposite pole, and the Western world often goes to extremes of obsequiousness, but it is difficult yet to estimate the total size of the bill which former colonial countries will present to the West, and it is difficult to predict whether the surrender, not only of its last colonies, but of everything it owns will cover the bill.

But the blindness of superiority continues in spite of all and supports the belief that vast regions everywhere on our planet should develop and mature to the level of present-day Western systems, which in theory are the best and in practice the most attractive. There is this belief that all those other worlds are only being temporarily prevented by wicked governments or by heavy crises or by their own barbarity and incomprehension from taking the way of Western pluralistic democracy and adopting the Western way of life. Countries are judged on the basis of their progress in this direction. However, this is a conception which developed out of Western incomprehension of the essence of other worlds, out of the mistake of measuring them all with a Western yardstick. The real picture of our planet's development is quite different.

Anguish about our divided world gave birth to the theory of convergence between leading Western countries and the Soviet Union. It is a soothing theory which overlooks the fact that these worlds are not at all developing into

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similarity; neither one can be transformed into the other without the use of violence. Besides, convergence inevitably means acceptance of the other side's defects, too, and this is hardly desirable.

If I were today addressing an audience in my country, examining the overall pattern of the world's rifts, I would have concentrated on the East's calamities. But since my forced exile in the West has now lasted four years and since my audience is a Western one, I think it may be of greater interest here to concentrate on certain aspects of the West in our days, as I see them.

A DECLINE in courage may be the most striking feature which an outside observer notices in the West in our days. The Western world has lost its civic courage, both as a whole and separately, in each country, each government, each political party, and of course in the United Nations. Such a decline in courage is particularly noticeable among the ruling groups and the intellectual elite, causing an impression that the loss of courage extends to the entire society. Of course there are many courageous individuals, but they have no determining influence on public life. Political and intellectual bureaucrats show depression, passivity, and perplexity in their actions, in their statements, and most of all in their theoretical reflections intended to explain how realistic and reasonable as well as intellectually and even morally warranted it is to base state policies on weakness and cowardice. The decline in courage is ironically emphasized by occasional explosions of anger and inflexibility on the part of those same bureaucrats when dealing with weak governments and weak countries that are not supported by anyone, or with currents which cannot offer any resistance. But they get tongue-tied and paralyzed when they deal with powerful governments and threatening forces, with aggressors and international terrorists.

Should one point out that from ancient times a decline in courage has been considered the beginning of the end?

When the modern Western states were created, the following principle was proclaimed: governments are meant to serve man, and man lives to be free and to pursue happiness. (See, for example, the American Declaration of Independence.)

Now at last, during recent decades, technical and social progress has permitted the realization of such aspirations: the welfare state. Every citizen has been granted the desired freedom and material goods in such quantity and of such quality as to guarantee in theory the achievement of happiness, in the morally inferior sense which has come into being during those same decades. In the process, however, one psychological detail has been overlooked: the constant desire to have still more things and a still better life, and the struggle to obtain them, imprints many Western faces with worry and even depression, though it is customary to conceal such feelings. Active and tense competition permeates all human thoughts without opening a way to free spiritual development. The individual's independence from many types of state pressure has been guaranteed; the majority of people have been granted well-being to an extent their fathers and grandfathers could not even dream about; it has become possible to raise young people according to this ideal, leading them to physical splendor, happiness, possession of material goods, money, and leisure—to an almost unlimited freedom of enjoyment. So who should now renounce all this? Why and for what should one risk one's precious life in defense of common values, and particularly in such nebulous cases as when the security of one's nation must be defended in a distant country?

Even biology knows that habitual extreme safety and well-being are not advantageous for a living organism. Today, well-being in the life of Western society has begun to reveal its pernicious mask.

Western society has given itself the organization best suited to its purpose, based, I would say, on the letter of the law. The limits of human rights and righteousness are determined by a system of laws; such limits are very broad. People in the West have acquired considerable skill in using, interpreting, and manipulating law, even though the laws tend to be too complicated for an average person to understand without the help of an expert. Any conflict is solved according to the letter of the law, and this is considered to be the supreme solution. If one is right from a legal point of view, nothing more is required; nobody may mention that one could still be not entirely right, and urge self-restraint, a willingness to renounce such legal rights, sacrifice, and selfless risk: it would sound simply absurd. One almost never sees voluntary self-restraint. Everybody operates at the extreme limit of the legal frames. An oil company is legally blameless when it purchases an invention for a new type of energy in order to prevent its use. A food-product manufacturer is legally blameless when he poisons his product to make it last longer: after all, people are free not to buy it.

The letter of the law is too cold and formal to have a beneficial influence on society. When the tissue of life is woven of legalistic relations, there is an atmosphere of moral mediocrity, paralyzing man's noblest impulses

I have spent all my life under a Communist regime and I will tell you that a society without any objective legal scale is a terrible one indeed. But a society with no other scale but the legal one is not quite worthy of man either. A society which is based on the letter of the law and never reaches any higher is scarcely taking advantage of the high level of human possibilities. The letter of the law is too cold and formal to have a beneficial influence on society. Whenever the tissue of life is woven of legalistic relations, there is an atmosphere of moral mediocrity, paralyzing man's noblest impulses.

And it will be simply impossible to survive the trials of this threatening century with only the support of a legalistic structure.

In today's Western society, the inequality has been revealed between the freedom to do good and the freedom to do evil. A statesman who wants

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to achieve something important and highly constructive for his country has to move cautiously and even timidly; there are thousands of hasty and irresponsible critics around him, parliament and press keep rebuffing him. As he moves ahead, he has to prove that each single step of his is well-founded and absolutely flawless. Actually, an outstanding and particularly gifted person who has unusual and unexpected initiatives in mind hardly gets a chance to assert himself; from the very beginning, traps will be set out all around him. Thus mediocrity triumphs, with the excuse of restrictions imposed by democracy.

It is feasible and easy everywhere to undermine administrative power, which, in fact, has been drastically weakened in all Western countries. The defense of individual rights has reached such extremes as to make society as a whole defenseless against certain individuals. It is time, in the West, to defend not so much human rights as human obligations.

Destructive and irresponsible freedom has been granted boundless space. Society appears to have little defense against the abyss of human decadence, such as, for example, the misuse of liberty for moral violence against young people, motion pictures full of pornography, crime, and horror. This is considered to be part of freedom, and theoretically counterbalanced by the young people's right not to look or not to accept. Life organized legalistically has thus shown its inability to defend itself against the corrosion of evil.

AND WHAT shall we say about the dark realm of criminality as such? Legal frames (especially in the United States) are broad enough to encourage not only individual freedom but also certain individual crimes. The culprit can go unpunished or obtain undeserved leniency with the support of thousands of public defenders. When a government starts an earnest fight against terrorism, public opinion immediately accuses it of violating the terrorists' civil rights. There are many such cases.

Such a tilt of freedom in the direction of evil has come about gradually, but it was evidently born primarily out of a humanistic and benevolent concept according to which there is no evil inherent in human nature; the world belongs to mankind and all the defects of life are caused by wrong social systems which must be corrected. Strangely enough, though the best social conditions have been achieved in the West, there still is criminality, and there even is considerably more of it than in the pauperized and lawless Soviet society. (There is a huge number of prisoners in our camps who are termed criminals, but most of them never committed any crime; they merely tried to defend themselves against a lawless state, resorting to means outside of a legal framework.)

The press too, of course, enjoys the widest freedom. (I shall be using the word *press* to include all media.) But what sort of use does it make of this freedom?

Here again, the main concern is to avoid infringing the letter of the law. There is no moral responsibility for deformation or disproportion. What sort of responsibility does a journalist have to his readers, or to history? If he has misled public opinion or the government by inaccurate information or wrong conclusions, do we know of any cases where the same journalist or the same newspaper has publicly recognized and rectified such mistakes? No, it does not happen, because it would damage sales. A nation may be the victim of such a mistake, but the journalist always gets away with it. One may safely assume that he will start writing the opposite with renewed self-assurance.

Because instant and credible information has to be given, it becomes necessary to resort to guesswork, rumors, and suppositions to fill in the voids, and none of them will ever be rectified, they will stay on in the readers' memory. How many hasty, immature, superficial, and misleading judgments are expressed every day, confusing readers, without any verification? The press can both stimulate public opinion and miseducate it. Thus we may see terrorists turned into heroes, or secret matters pertaining to one's nation's defense publicly revealed, or we may witness shameless intrusions on the privacy of well-known people under the slogan: "Everyone is entitled to know everything." But this is a false slogan, characteristic of a false era: people also have the right not to know, and it is a much more valuable one. The right not to have their divine souls stuffed with gossip, nonsense, vain talk. A person who works and leads a meaningful life does not need this excessive burdening flow of information.

Hastiness and superficiality are the psychic disease of the twentieth century, and more than anywhere else this disease is reflected in the press. In-depth analysis of a problem is anathema to the press. It stops at sensational formulas.

Enormous freedom exists for the press—but not for the readership, because newspapers mostly give stress and emphasis to those opinions which do not too sharply contradict their own, or the general trend

Such as it is, however, the press has become the greatest power within the Western countries, more powerful than the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary. One would then like to ask: By what law has it been elected and to whom is it responsible? In the Communist East, a journalist is frankly appointed as a state official. But who has granted Western journalists their power, for how long a time, and with what prerogatives?

There is yet another surprise for someone coming from the East, where the press is rigorously unified: one gradually discovers a common trend of preferences within the Western press as a whole. It is a fashion; there are generally accepted patterns of judgment and there may be common corporate interests, the sum effect being not competition but unification. Enormous freedom exists for the press—but not for the readership, because newspapers mostly give stress and emphasis to those opinions which do not too sharply contradict their own, or the general trend.

Without any censorship, fashionable

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trends of thought and ideas in the West are carefully separated from those which are not fashionable; nothing is forbidden, but what is not fashionable will hardly ever find its way into periodicals or books or be heard in colleges. Legally, your researches are free, but they are conditioned by the fashion of the day. There is no open violence such as in the East; however, a selection dictated by fashion and the need to match mass standards frequently prevents independent-minded people from giving their contribution to public life. There is a dangerous tendency to form a herd, shutting off successful development. I have received letters in America from highly intelligent persons, maybe a teacher in a faraway small college who could do much for the renewal and salvation of his country, but his country cannot hear him because the media are not interested in him. This gives birth to strong mass prejudices, to blindness, which is most dangerous in our dynamic era. There is, for instance, a self-deluding interpretation of the contemporary world situation. It works as a sort of petrified armor around people's minds. Human voices from 17 countries of Eastern Europe and Asia cannot pierce it. It will only be broken by the pitiless crowbar of events.

I have mentioned a few traits of Western life which surprise and shock a new arrival to this world. The purpose and scope of this speech will not allow me to continue such a review, to look into the influence of these Western characteristics on important aspects of a nation's life, such as elementary education, and advanced education in the humanities and in art.

It is almost universally recognized that the West shows all the world a way to successful economic development, even though in the past years it has been strongly disturbed by chaotic inflation. However, many people living in the West are dissatisfied with their own society. They despise it or accuse it of not being up to the level of maturity attained by mankind. A number of such critics turn to socialism, which is a false and dangerous current.

I hope that no one present will suspect me of offering my personal criticism of the Western system in order to present socialism as an alternative. Having experienced applied socialism in a country where that alternative has been realized, I certainly will not speak for it. The well-known Soviet mathematician Shafarevich, a member of the Soviet Academy of Science, has written a brilliant book under the title *Socialism*; it is a profound analysis showing that socialism of any type and shade leads to a total destruction of the human spirit and to a leveling of mankind unto death. Shafarevich's book was published in France almost two years ago, and so far no one has been found to refute it. It will shortly be published in English in the United States.

But should someone ask me whether I would indicate the West such as it is today as a model to my country, frankly I would have to answer negatively. No, I could not recommend your society in its present state as an ideal for the transformation of ours. Through intense suffering our country has now achieved a spiritual development of such intensity that the Western system in its present state of spiritual exhaustion does not look attractive. Even those characteristics of your life which I have just mentioned are extremely saddening.

A FACT WHICH cannot be disputed is the weakening of human beings in the West, while in the East they are becoming firmer and stronger. Six decades for our people and three decades for the people of Eastern Europe; during that time we have been through a spiritual training far in advance of Western experience. Life's complexity and mortal weight have produced stronger, deeper, and more interesting characters than those generated by standardized Western well-being. Therefore, if our society were to be transformed into yours, it would mean an improvement in certain aspects, but also a change for the worse on some particularly significant scores. It is true, no doubt, that a society cannot remain in an abyss of lawlessness, as is the case in our country. But it is also demeaning for it to elect such mechanical legalistic smoothness as you have. After suffering decades of violence and oppression, the human soul longs for things higher, warmer, and purer than those offered by today's mass living habits, exemplified by the revolting invasion of publicity, by TV stupor, and by intolerable music.

All this is visible to observers from all the worlds of our planet. The Western way of life is less and less likely to become the leading model.

There are various meaningful warnings which history gives a threatened or perishing society—the decadence of art, for instance, or a lack of great statesmen. There are open and evident warnings, too. The center of your democracy and of your culture is left without electric power for a few hours only, and all of a sudden crowds of American citizens start looting and creating havoc. The smooth surface film must be very thin, then; the social system quite unstable and unhealthy.

But the fight, physical and spiritual, for our planet, a fight of cosmic proportions, is not a vague matter of the future; it has already started. The forces

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of Evil have begun their decisive offensive, you can feel their pressure, and yet your screens and publications are full of prescribed smiles and raised glasses. What is the joy about?

Very well-known representatives of your society, such as George Kennan, say: We cannot apply moral criteria to politics. Thus we mix good and evil, right and wrong, and make space for the absolute triumph of absolute Evil in the world. On the contrary, only moral criteria can help the West against Communism's well-planned world strategy. There are no other criteria. Practical or occasional considerations of any kind will inevitably be swept away by strategy. After a certain level of the problem has been reached, legalistic thinking induces paralysis; it prevents one from seeing the size and meaning of events.

In spite of the abundance of information, or maybe because of it, the West has difficulties in understanding reality such as it is. There have been naïve predictions by some American experts who believed that Angola would become the Soviet Union's Vietnam or that Cuban expeditions in Africa would best be stopped by special U.S. courtesy to Cuba. Kennan's advice to his own country—to begin unilateral disarmament—belongs to the same category. If you only knew how the youngest of the Moscow Old Square* officials laugh at your political wizards! As to Fidel Castro, he frankly scorns the United States, sending his troops to distant adventures from his country right next to yours.

However, the most cruel mistake occurred with the failure to understand the Vietnam War. Some people sincerely wanted all wars to stop just as soon as possible; others believed that there should be room for national, or Communist, self-determination in Vietnam, or in Cambodia, as we see today with particular clarity. But members of the U.S. antiwar movement wound up being involved in the betrayal of Far Eastern nations, in a genocide, and in the suffering today imposed on thirty million people there. Do those convinced pacifists hear the moans coming from there? Do they understand their responsibility today? Or do they prefer not to hear? The American intelligentsia lost its nerve, and as a consequence thereof danger has come much closer to the United States. But there is no awareness of this. Your shortsighted politicians who signed the hasty Vietnam capitulation seemingly gave America a carefree breathing space; however, a hundredfold Vietnam now looms over you. That small Vietnam had been a warning and an occasion to mobilize the nation's courage. But if a full-fledged America suffered a real defeat from a small Communist half-country, how can the West hope to stand firm in the future?

I have had occasion already to say that in the twentieth century Western democracy has not won any major war without help and protection from a powerful Continental ally whose philosophy and ideology it did not question. In World War II against Hitler, instead of winning that war with its own forces, which would certainly have been sufficient, Western democracy cultivated another enemy who would prove worse and more powerful yet: Hitler never had so many resources and so many people, nor did he offer any attractive ideas, or have such a large number of supporters in the West—a potential fifth column—as the Soviet Union does. At present, some Western voices already have spoken of obtaining protection from a third power against aggression in the next world conflict, if there is one; in this case the shield would be China. But I would not wish this on any country in the world. First of all, it is again a doomed alliance with Evil; also, it would grant the United States a respite, but when at a later date China with its billion people would turn around armed with American weapons, America itself would fall prey to a genocide similar to the one perpetrated in Cambodia in our days.

And yet—no weapons, no matter how powerful, can help the West until it overcomes its loss of will-power. In a state of psychological weakness, weapons become a burden for the capitulating side. To defend oneself, one must also be ready to die; there is little such readiness in a society raised in the cult of material well-being. Nothing is left, then, but concessions, attempts to gain time, and betrayal. Thus, at the shameful Belgrade conference, free Western diplomats in their weakness surrendered the line where enslaved members of Helsinki Watch groups are sacrificing their lives.

Western thinking has become conservative: the world situation should stay as it is at any cost, there should be no changes. This debilitating dream of a status quo is the symptom of a society which has come to the end of its development. But one must be blind in order not to see that the oceans no longer belong to the West, while the land under its domination keeps shrinking. The two so-called world wars (they were by no means on a world scale, not yet) meant the internal self-destruction of the small progressive West, which has thus prepared its own end. The next war (which does not have to be an atomic one, and I do not believe it will) may well bury Western civilization forever.

Facing such a danger, with such historical values in your past, at such a high level of realization of freedom and apparently of devotion to freedom, how is it possible to lose to such an extent the will to defend oneself?

How has this unfavorable relation of forces come about? How did the West decline from its triumphal march to its present sickness? Have there been fatal turns and losses of direction in its development? It does not seem so. The West kept advancing socially in accordance with its proclaimed intentions, with the help of brilliant technological progress. And all of a sudden it found itself in its present state of weakness.

This means that the mistake must be at the root, at the very basis of human thinking in the past centuries. I refer to the prevailing Western view of the world which was first born during the Renaissance and found its political expression starting in the period of the Enlightenment. It became the basis for government and social science and could be defined as rationalistic humanism or humanistic autonomy: the proclaimed and enforced autonomy of man from any higher force above him. It could also be called anthropocentricity, with man seen as the center of everything that exists.

*The Old Square in Moscow (Staraya Ploshchad') is the place where the headquarters of the Central Committee of the CPSU are located; it is the real name of what in the West is conventionally referred to as "the Kremlin."

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The turn introduced by the Renaissance evidently was inevitable historically. The Middle Ages had come to a natural end by exhaustion, becoming an intolerable despotic repression of man's physical nature in favor of the spiritual one. Then, however, we turned our backs upon the Spirit and embraced all that is material with excessive and unwarranted zeal. This new way of thinking, which had imposed on us its guidance, did not admit the existence of intrinsic evil in man, nor did it see any higher task than the attainment of happiness on earth. It based modern Western civilization on the dangerous trend toward worshiping man and his material needs. Everything beyond physical well-being and accumulation of material goods, all human requirements and characteristics of a subtler and higher nature, were left outside the range of attention of the state and the social system, as if human life did not have any higher meaning. That provided access for evil, of which in our days there is a free and constant flow. But freedom does not in the least solve all the problems of human life, and it even adds a number of new ones.

At that, in early democracies, as in American democracy at the time of its birth, all individual human rights were granted because man is God's creature. That is, freedom was given to the individual conditionally, on the assumption of his constant religious responsibility. Such was the heritage of the preceding thousand years. Two hundred years ago —even fifty years ago—it would have seemed quite impossible, in America, that an individual could be granted boundless freedom simply for the satisfaction of his instincts or whims. Subsequently, however, all such limitations were discarded everywhere in the West; a total liberation occurred from the moral heritage of Christian centuries, with their great reserves of mercy and sacrifice. Meanwhile, state systems were becoming increasingly materialistic. The West ended up by truly enforcing human rights, sometimes even excessively, but man's sense of responsibility to God and society grew dimmer and dimmer. In the past few decades, the legalistic, selfish aspect of Western thinking has reached its apogee, and the world is now in a harsh spiritual crisis and a political impasse. All the glorified technological achievements of Progress, including the conquest of outer space, do not redeem the twentieth century's moral poverty, which no one could imagine even as late as in the nineteenth century.

As humanism in its development became more and more materialistic, it made itself increasingly accessible to speculation and manipulation, at first by socialism and then by Communism. So that Karl Marx was able to say in 1844 that "Communism is naturalized humanism."

This statement turned out to be not entirely meaningless. One does see the same stones in the foundations of a despiritualized humanism and of any type of socialism: endless materialism; freedom from religion and religious responsibility, which under Communist regimes reaches the stage of anti-religious dictatorship; concentration on social structures, with a seemingly scientific approach (this is typical of the Enlightenment in the eighteenth century and of Marxism). Not by coincidence, all of Communism's meaningless pledges and oaths are about Man, with a capital M, and his earthly happiness. At first glance it seems an ugly parallel: common traits in the thinking and way of life of today's West and today's East? But such is the logic of materialistic development.

The interrelationship is such, too, that the current of materialism which is farthest Left always ends up being stronger, more attractive, and finally, victorious, because it is more consistent. Humanism without its Christian heritage cannot resist such competition. We watch this process over the past centuries and, especially in the past decades, on a world scale, as the situation becomes increasingly dramatic. Liberalism was inevitably displaced by radicalism, radicalism had to surrender to socialism, and socialism could never resist Communism. The Communist regime in the East could stand and grow, thanks to the enthusiastic support of an enormous number of Western intellectuals who felt a kinship with Communism and refused to see its crimes. When they could no longer ignore them, they tried to justify them. In our Eastern countries, Communism has suffered a complete ideological defeat; it is zero and less than zero. But Western intellectuals still look at it with interest and with empathy, and this is precisely what makes it so immensely difficult for the West to withstand the East.

In our Eastern countries, Communism has suffered a complete ideological defeat; it is zero and less than zero. But Western intellectuals still look at it with interest and with empathy

I am not examining here the disasterous case of a world war and the changes which it would produce in society. As long as we wake up every morning under a peaceful sun, we have to lead an everyday life. There is a disaster, however, which has already been under way for quite some time. I am referring to the calamity of a despiritualized and irreligious humanistic consciousness.

To such consciousness, man is the touchstone in judging and evaluating everything on earth. Imperfect man, who is never free of pride, self-interest, envy, vanity, and dozens of other defects. We are now experiencing the consequences of mistakes which had not been noticed at the beginning of the journey. On the way from the Renaissance to our days we have enriched our experience, but we have lost the concept of a Supreme Complete Entity which used to restrain our passions and our irresponsibility. We have placed too much hope in political and social reforms, only to find out that we were being deprived of our most precious possession: our spiritual life. In the East, it is destroyed by the dealings and machinations of the ruling party. In the West, commercial interests tend to suffocate it. This is the real crisis. The split in the world is less terrible than the fact that the same disease is plaguing its two main sections.

(Continues on page 855)

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Who Shall Write The Law?

REPEATEDLY BEATEN BACK in efforts at augmented gun control, proponents of federal firearms registration have recently attempted a series of end-runs around the Congress.

The essence of this approach is to have some federal agency or other require by bureaucratic edict things that cannot be done by vote of Congress: strict control of guns or ammunition, illegalization of hunting, centralized firearms registration, and the like. Because the network of federal regulations covering our society has grown so thick, the number of avenues by which maneuvers of this sort may be essayed is virtually endless.

The most recent example of the technique involves the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (BATF) of the U.S. Department of the Treasury. A few weeks back, BATF announced a proposed new regulation for the control of firearms which, among other things, would have required all federally licensed firearms dealers to file reports with BATF concerning the acquisition and disposal of guns, and would have mandated other forms of record-keeping which, opponents said, amounted to a system of registration. As Representative John M. Ashbrook of Ohio put it, the BATF decree would have created "a federal data bank of firearms transactions."

Thanks to Ashbrook, Senator James McClure of Idaho, and other pro-gun spokesmen, the proposed new BATF rules were subjected to a withering critique in Congress and voted down in the House of Representatives. By a margin of 314 to 80, the lower chamber decided in early June to cut off BATF's funds for the enforcement of the regulations. The pro-gun forces won a major victory, but in the course of doing so they exposed a chronic problem in the functioning of our government: the initiative in this matter—as in so many others—was in the hands of the bureaucrats, with Congress having to react in negative fashion against the laws created by the Executive.

As McClure observes, Congress in recent years has repeatedly turned thumbs down on the idea of federal gun registration. The regulations proposed by BATF are, thus, "not merely unauthorized by existing law, they are demonstrably in direct contradiction to the legislative intent of Congress. . . . Congress not only did not provide such a section of the law, did not provide for such a feature in the law, they specifically refused to take that step. So the administrative agency is attempting to do that which Congress has specifically refused to do."

Illustrating the problem further was a second vote in the lower chamber, this one concerning regulations propounded by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA). Early this year, exercising typical wisdom, OSHA issued a decree preventing hunting on sixty thousand acres of Louisiana timberland, on the theory that this pursuit was a safety hazard to three forest technicians who traveled the enormous expanse of woods on foot to mark the trees. This ruling was also reversed by Congress, as was an effort of the Consumer Product Safety Commission a few years back to bar the sale of ammunition.

In all these cases, we find the bureaucrats enacting anti-gun laws that have never been contemplated by the Congress, and that, when brought to congressional attention, are summarily voted down. The issue, obviously, extends beyond the question of gun control. As Representative William Frenzel (R., Minn.) put it: "The point is not exclusively gun registration, although that is one important principle, and the program is cumbersome, expensive, and probably totally ineffective. The real question is: Who shall write the law?"

A proper answer to that question will require generic restraints on the power of the bureaucracy to promulgate rules and regulations. Two such restraints that are now being worked on are a proposal to require an affirmative vote by Congress before such regulations above a certain threshold can take effect, and less sweeping proposals to systematize the procedures by which congressional vetos of executive legislation may be imposed. These efforts to correct the imbalance between the Executive and Congress are very worthwhile, but because they range so far beyond the subject of gun control I shall reserve analysis for a later occasion.

In the battle over the BATF regulations, Senator McClure, Representative Ashbrook, and Representative Steve Symms of Idaho submitted identical resolutions of condemnation of the proposed new rules (SCR-79, HCR-558, HJR-872). Since the specific form of disapproval adopted in June was the denial of an appropriation, these resolutions of condemnation are still in the hopper. Given the persistence of the bureaucracy, adoption of their language or something like it would seem to be a prudent policy.

BEYOND THESE proposals, constructive legislation dealing specifically with guns includes repeal of the Gun Control Act of 1968, which has been urged by Representatives Symms, George Hansen of Idaho, Ashbrook (HR-156), and Larry McDonald of Georgia (HR-1347). This move is premised on the argument that the law limiting the sale of long guns through the mail, prohibiting the importation of "Saturday Night Specials," and requiring that certain records be kept on the disposition of guns and ammunition has failed to bring a reduction in the crime rate, and that its record-keeping provisions open the door to the sort of registration scheme attempted by BATF.

Finally, for those who object that conservatives are never "for" anything, there are some mandatory sentencing bills for crimes committed with a firearm. One such is S-31, submitted by Senator Pete Domenici of New Mexico and co-sponsored by Senators Curtis, Stevens, and Thurmond. More tightly drawn is Ashbrook's HR-159, which would specifically mandate punishment for use of a firearm or explosive device in the commission of a "crime of violence." □

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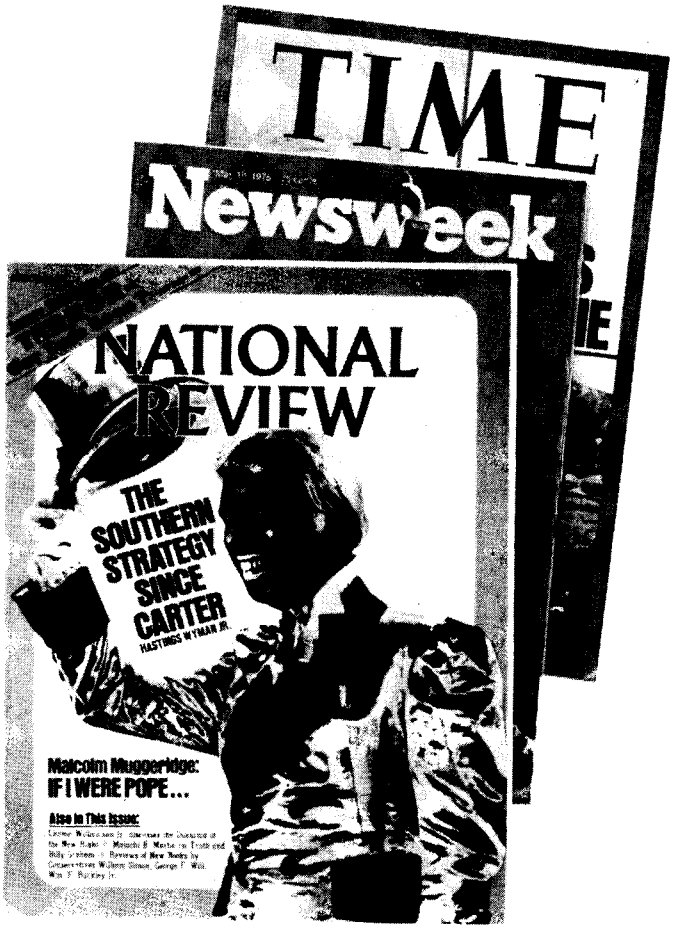

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Seeing Shelley Plain

GUY DAVENPORT

Remembering Poets: Reminiscences and Opinions
By Donald Hall
Harper, 253 pp., $10

Wordsworth pushing a wheelbarrow containing Coleridge with blistered heels; the grave infant Milton watching lean Will Shakespeare and fat Ben Jonson staggering home from the Mermaid; Rousseau hiding all day in his own attic because he'd had the servant say to Boswell that he was out and the intrepid Scot shoved his way in to sit stubbornly until the philosopher showed; Joyce and Proust in a taxi, the one lowering the windows because of his claustrophobia, the other raising them because of his asthma, up and down, down and up, all the way to Maxim's; Eliot and Pound lifting their feet to accommodate the imaginary vacuum cleaner of a lunatic while they conversed in a cell in St. Elizabeth's Hospital—the literary anecdote, as Donald Hall observes in the introduction to his *Remembering Poets*, is a genre all to itself "at the edges of literature."

Hazlitt was a master of the form; what would the English Romantics look like without his account of them? It was gossipy Henry Crabb Robinson who gave us our images of the Blakes reading *Paradise Lost* in their back garden, naked, pink, and chubby. And what else was Boswell doing but compiling an epic portrait of Johnson out of anecdotes?

Now that literature itself has become paperborne, the literary anecdote may be the last survivor of the oral tradition. It would, I think, be awkward for a poet nowadays to offer a recitation of his verses at a dinner party (something you went to dinner parties *for*, once upon a time, when a duke's wink from deep inside a ruff of squirrel fur activated a page, who brought a candle to the shoulder of Maister Chaucer, who unfolded a sheaf of parchment and began to speak in octosyllables), but if he has spent a drunken evening with Cal Lowell, or sat at the colossal knees of Robert Kelly, or played billiards with Sam Beckett, he has an audience all ears.

Gossip is a social art form, it is intimate, and it is a tradition as old as eating in company. It does not go easily into print (one of Professor Hall's triumphs as a writer is that his style keeps the feel of *telling*). If it's literary gossip, it has few occasions for native expression; you can't tell an anecdote about an obscure poet, and you must also have the sense that you are satisfying curiosity. I would venture a grander role for the anecdote than Donald Hall modestly claims; it is the folklore that plays around a high seriousness, the saints' legends of a religion, and usually has the truth of myth rather than of fact.

Hall omits the anecdote of Dylan Thomas' question to Harry Levin, who he had just learned was a professor of Comparative Literature: "What," Thomas asked in his best Welsh White Trash voice, "do you compare it to?" The deliciousness of this cannot be explained to the uninitiate (but it isn't a snob's anecdote; snobs can't tell literary anecdotes worth a damn): Harry Levin is a gracious and civilized soul with a poise that one cannot imagine being discomfited, and yet his immense usefulness to the world is explaining literature, and here he is, in Cambridge congeniality, being cheeked by a poet. The *Urgestalt* of the anecdote is Diogenes asking Alexander the Great to get out of his light.

Donald Hall, poet, short-story writer, critic, teacher, and *raconteur*, tells us what it is like to have known Eliot, Thomas, Frost, and Pound, not for any length of time—know a great man too well and you can't write about him at all—but in intense intermittences: a hair-raising day of pub-crawling in London with Thomas, and an overnight stay with his pitiful family in Wales; visits to Eliot's lair at Faber and Faber; sessions with Frost at writing confer-

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ences; Fellini-like visits to the ancient Ezra Pound in his decade of ghostly silence. And with all, business. Hall is no lion-hunter (they can't tell anecdotes, either); he is, as best one can make out from his book, a literary diplomat. To him we must pay our gratitude for the very last fragments of *The Cantos*.

One of the ironies of the literary life is that capable Boswells turn up just when the subject is on its last pins, either drinking himself to death like Thomas, or ill and frail like Eliot and Pound, or wearing a public mask like Frost. Still, our curiosity about a great creative figure grows with his eminence. The clever old codgers write a script for the interviewer, every chuckle in the same place—Sir P. G. Wodehouse was the master of this, so was Frost, a mysterious and secret man who put on his Norman Rockwell face for any public whatever. (Hall's "Mortimer Snerd" is a bit harsh; it was more like Uncle Remus up at the big house, Tomming it to a fare-thee-well.)

PROFESSOR HALL was a student of his poets' writings; underneath his very human curiosity about them as men with children to feed and mortgages to pay off was his concern for seeing into the work with the leverage of the person. Talk about pitching mercury with a fork!

In meeting great men a wholly uninspected and peculiar chemistry transforms the psyche, provided, of course, that one has the hero worship, the awe, the plangently romantic giddiness of anticipation and fulfillment. I wonder that some psychological boffin has not anatomized for science this longing of admirers to see distinguished men; somewhere deep in the phenomenon is a clue to faith, loyalty, and all the gaudier kinds of enthusiasm.

Lord knows I have known enough of the giddiness of such excitement to be the perfect reader of Donald Hall's book. I met T. S. Eliot five times over the years; four of them involved (as you will find in the sheets of the Recording Angel when the scrolls are opened) the exchange of the words "Pleased to meet you," together with a handshake. The fifth encounter was chummier. I had accomplished the fifth "Pleased to meet you," and handshake, in the Common Room of Eliot House, and had the honor of steering him toward the dining room where all Harvard that was anybody and enterprising awaited his presence. To the right of the door leading out of the Common Room hangs a portrait of Eliot by Wyndham Lewis, or rather, a first draft of Lewis' first portrait of him, the circumspect banker who was known in both South Kensington and Bloomsbury, the *TLS* crack reviewer, the chameleon American who could chat Gibbon with Strachey on Lady Ottoline Morrell's lawn or Benda with Hulme at a chop house, a man with an ether addict for a wife.

Eliot drew up short before the portrait, held his lapels and craned forward the eagle's profile. "I seem," he said to me, "to have changed."

I have had even briefer *rencontres* with the great. My father and I saw Franklin Roosevelt fall from a train, sprawling onto the station floor (Gainesville, Georgia, 1936, FBI goons snatching cameras left and right); and I have assisted in extinguishing Jean-Paul Sartre when he was on fire. Pete Maas and I, in our salad days, were at the Deux Magots of an evening. "Guy," said the affable Pete, "that old wall eye over the way put his lit pipe in his jacket pocket awhile ago and in just a bit will be in flames, wouldn't you say? Go tell him."

We tried out various phrases, selecting *Monsieur, vous brûlez* as the most expressive. Pete is a more forward person than I, and it was he who went over, begged the pardon of Sartre, and told him that his jacket pocket was on fire. Nothing happened. The conversation raged on, arms flailing, Existentialism as thick in the air as the smoke from Sartre's *confection*. Sartre did not deign to notice Pete, though Pete ventured a polite tug at his sleeve. Nor did Monsieur Camus or Monsieur Richard Wright give the least heed. Whereupon I offered Pete our carafe of water, and this he poured into the philosopher's pocket, which hissed.

My fate has been the tangential brush. I have listened to Roy Campbell drunk and Mann sober, all in respectful silence. My sessions with J. R. R.

RANDOM NOTES

■ LEFT OVER FROM JUNE: *Prodigal Father: The Life of John Butler Yeats (1839-1922)* (Cornell, $27.50), by William M. Murphy, is an ambitious biography of the Irish portrait painter and father of William Butler Yeats. . . . Ernest Kahlar Alix has added a scholarly study to the annals of crime: *Ransom Kidnapping in America 1874-1974* (Southern Illinois University, $15). Kidnappers, it appears, are mostly white, and their victims mainly white males. . . . The author of *Washington's Hidden Tragedy: The Failure to Make Government Work* (Free Press, $10.95), Frederic V. Malek, worked for five and a half years as a White House aide and member of the Office of Management and Budget. His conclusions: a) that the majority of our elected officials have no managerial talents; and b) that the government is too big, and too busy trying to regulate too much, to be very effective.

■ SOME JULY TITLES: James A. Michener, whose last novel, *Centennial*, dealt with the history and settling of the American West, has bitten off a smaller part of the continent for the subject of his new book, *Chesapeake* (Random, $12.95), which treats of the history of Chesapeake Bay from 1583 to 1978. We eagerly await Mr. Michener's next book, rumored to be a history of the Raritan River. . . . *Max Perkins: Editor of Genius* (Dutton, $15) by A. Scott Bergman is a study of the life and work of the Scribner's editor who groomed such writers as Hemingway, Fitzgerald, Thomas Wolfe, Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, and Ring Lardner. . . . Bryan Forbes's *Dame Edith Evans: Ned's Girl* (Little, Brown, $10.95) is the authorized biography of the late British actress and is worth investigation. . . . In *Cineliteracy: Film among the Arts* (Horizon, $14.95), Charles Eidsvik examines the relationship between film and other art forms. . . . Emil Fackenheim's *The Jewish Return into History* (Schocken, $14.95) confronts the enormity of the Holocaust and argues that to do otherwise is to commit blasphemy. . . . The New Freedom gave us the Federal Trade Commission, the Federal Reserve, and other baubles, but it failed to impose on the country compulsory health insurance. In *Almost Persuaded: American Physicians and Compulsory Health Insurance, 1912-1920* (Johns Hopkins, $10), Ronald L. Numbers explains why. It seems that doctors, druggists, insurers, the AMA, and President Harding were against it, and that during World War I the scheme was branded a German plot and un-American. Premature anti-Fascism, we say.

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Tolkien were an exquisite misery: he was trying to teach me Anglo-Saxon. I have helped Marianne Moore look for her lost glasses, and have shaken hands with Gerald Ford (by mistake, he thought I was somebody else). I have said "Pleased to meet you" to Eleanor Roosevelt and mounted the steps of Widener as Prince Karim Khan and the King of Belgium descended them, and nodded, futilely, to both. I have heard Faulkner's voice through a closed door; I have been the one on KP, on my knees at the time, sweeping ashes from under a range, who noticed that in our midst General Mark Clark was wandering about, presumably looking for a cup of coffee, and shouted the stentorian "TEN-shun!!!" and presented arms with a broom, the propriety of which in military politeness is still a dubious point with me.

And Frost. "The man from Porlock!" he said of me the one time I went to his house in Cambridge, though I was scarcely interrupting the composition of a second "Kubla Khan," only a *Saturday Evening Post* cover tableau of the freckled old apple-cheeked New Hampshire Poet by a crackling fire, the inevitable Andrew Wyeth (a barn in January light) over the mantlepiece and Harvardlings at his feet.

I had brought the piece of paper that would release Ezra Pound from 13 years in a madhouse. Eliot had already signed it, twice, as it turned out, once in the wrong place and once in the right. Faulkner had signed it. Hemingway had signed it, on a yacht off the coast of Cuba (naturally). MacLeish had signed it. Wallace Stevens had refused. ("I don't want Ezra on my back step, do you?") And now Frost was to sign it. A year before, Attorney General Rogers had been willing quietly to *nol pros* the Pound case, on the grounds that a case 13 years cold could not be tried, but the press got wind of the matter and raised such a ruckus that nothing could be done. Now MacLeish was trying again, as he had for years. Rogers had asked for a big name to cow the press, and everyone agreed that Frost was just about as good as the Statue of Liberty.

Frost took the paper, disappeared into another room with it, meditating a whole ten minutes. The Harvardlings glared at me. I dripped from a snowstorm outside, and my purse did not run to overshoes. The old man shuffled back into the room, frowning.

"Eisenhower will never consent to this," he said. "It's a waste of all our time. Why didn't Archie come himself?"

Professor MacLeish, I explained, had left the day before for Antigua. I pronounced it as a Spanish word.

"They used to call it An-TIG-yu-ah," he said, holding the door for me to leave. "They've changed everything."

He had never visited Pound in the asylum. Professor Hall's account of Frost's efforts to free Pound are not quite right. Archibald MacLeish, for all practical purposes alone, got Pound out. Frost played his part, as requested. He may even, as Hall hints, have imagined that he thought it all up himself.

The portrait of Pound in this wonderfully readable book is the most thorough, the most moving, and the one with the most cooperative subject. (Hall's *Paris Review* interviews with Pound and Eliot are included in an appendix.) With Thomas, Eliot, and Frost Professor Hall had a worn path to beckon him on, but the way to Pound had been initially blocked by Pound's besmirched reputation as an antisemite, bootlicker of Mussolini, Fascist, obscurantist, and traitor. But get around these he did, to find a man perhaps more complex and pesky than the scary one.

The Pound he knew was in the depths of guilt and, frequently, despair, accusing himself of having wrecked his and his family's life. He brooded terribly. He practiced a candor of terrifying honesty. ("How are you, Mr. Pound?" "Senile.") He clawed the back of his hands. He watched his world die and fade utterly away. Still, in his ruin, he was more interesting than ten hale newly minted literati together. He could swim like a dolphin at eighty. He walked upright, dressed with dapper taste (though he became so thin that his trousers fell off at the opera, an accident that made him so furious with the nature of things that he simply stood and glared while he was ringed about by friends).

The value of reports from the horse's mouth is that public opinions get revised; propinquity corrects the distant, third-hand view. Here we have an arrogant Frost and a contrite Pound, the opposite of received opinion. The gilt flakes off Thomas. Eliot remains as inscrutable as ever, a whole theater of mimes, the king of the possums.

Donald Hall—he has three books coming out this year—is a fine reporter, a clear-headed witness, and, judging by his friendly association with these four difficult men, a worthy companion. □

Inventing America: Jefferson's Declaration of Independence
By Garry Wills
Doubleday, 398 pp., $10

INVENTING JEFFERSON

M. J. SOBRAN JR.

Garry Wills, like his old hero Chesterton, is a genius of summary. Several of his books—*Chesterton: Man and Mask*, *Nixon Agonistes*, *Bare Ruined Choirs*—are, for all their faults, marvels of compressed abundance, with remarkably little overlap among them. *Inventing America: Jefferson's Declaration of Independence* is his best yet: it has its subject's *passion* for accuracy, and lifts scholarship to creation.

Wills once told an interviewer that he saw himself as a "courier among disciplines," a vivid though too modest description of his special talent. Sometimes his eagerness to summarize becomes a rush to judgment: he covets the sovereignty of the last word. And this fault is unfortunately compounded by the temper of a scorpion. Is there another journalist who would avenge himself by devoting two columns to a cop who had given him a ticket? He has also a puritan's way of taking everyone else's sins as personal affronts to himself. He knows how hard it is for lesser men to make a fool of him, without realizing how easily he does it unassisted, largely because he still strains, at age 44, to show he's the smartest kid in the class.

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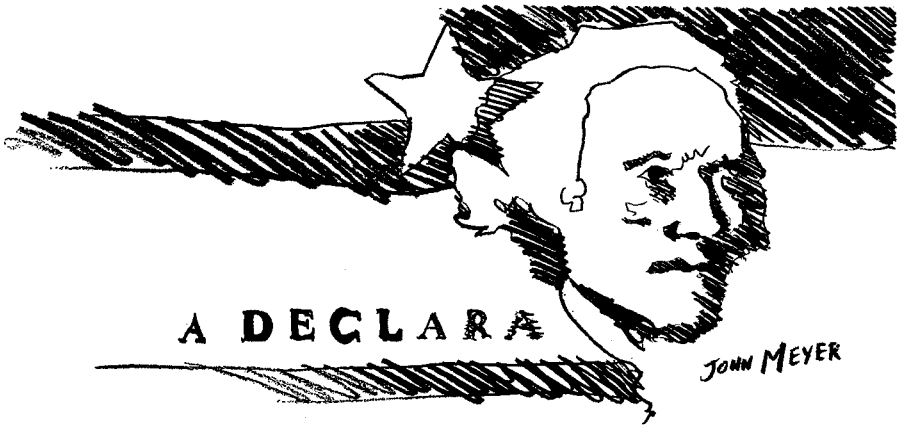
Which, as it happens, he is. But, like Milton, who (as Johnson said) could cut a Colossus from rock but not heads on cherry-stones, Wills needs a large scope for his excellence: a long essay at least. Also like Milton, the "surly and acrimonious republican," his writing needs time—time for his violent reactions to cool to judiciousness. Chesterton observed that "even in Milton there are gleams of Christianity," and so with Wills: in fact his charitable moments produce his best writing, and his talent seems to desert him during seizures of spite. Yet even his great capacity for rancor, like Belloc's, implies a virtue: everything matters to him. That may be why he can bring anything to life.

Inventing America is his *Paradise Lost*. It takes a rare imagination to see pathos in Jefferson's ceaseless anguish that the Continental Congress had carved up his original draft of the Declaration. Did it matter that much? Jefferson thought so, and to the end of his life he preserved and privately circulated *his* Declaration. Wills contends that this was not an author's vanity, but a creator's grief at the uncomprehending mutilation of his work—by the very community he had hoped would adopt it as their own in, and for, its wholeness. The book aims to show us that the original text, first abridged, later worn by time and misprision into familiar platitude, is actually the expression of a world-view, precisely and methodically hewn (by, after all, the precise and methodical architect of Monticello) from the marmoreal quarries of Enlightenment thought; and that the Congress really did delete its key passage.

To explain this, Wills first has to reconstruct Jefferson's "lost world." He supplies us with a political mise-en-scène, teeming with vivid figures seen from new angles, and gives us an intellectual background that is full of specific tensions and urgencies, no merely placid "atmosphere." A scholar's scholar, he has the discernment to limn a past's own felt past. Once inside this world, he is able to sharpen blurred lines of meaning and restore the lost resonances of a language that looks like a simpler, vaguer, loftier version of ours, but is really crackling with its own internal complexities. What Jefferson spoke and wrote and thought was not so much English as "eighteenth century." To understand him we must cross an invisible language barrier.

Jefferson was no textbook *philosophe* or *Second Treatise* Lockean. At the



book's heart, Wills offers multiple proofs that he was a disciple of the Scottish Enlightenment who adopted definable portions of the thought of Francis ("moral sense") Hutcheson, Thomas ("common sense") Reid, Hume (the Hume of the moral essays), and Adam (*The Theory of Moral Sentiments*) Smith. In this milieu, a term like "common sense," drowsy to our ears, had a sharp and technical meaning: it carried the freight of Reid's epistemological communitarianism, which held that thinking and knowing were communal as well as individual activities. Thus, for instance, Newton's system, the product of one man's genius, became, when tested and corporately ratified by other competent thinkers, "the common sense of the subject." The man who first formulated the system was its "inventor"; hence when Jefferson constructed a rationale for revolution he was "inventing" America. Even "revolution" had a very different meaning; far from suggesting violence, it implied an inexorable "revolving," the massive turning of American "affection" away from the mother country. In an age when men "dreamed of Newtonizing all reality," especially on mathematical models, Jefferson's Declaration was a scientific codification of the "laws" behind the very act it represented.

Though he never lets polemics get in the way of faithful exposition, Wills clearly has a deeper motive here. He wants to rescue Jefferson, Adam Smith, and the early nation itself from the individualist tradition associated with Hobbes and Locke. The rival Scottish tradition based morality on the "moral sense" and "benevolence" rather than on hedonistic or materialistic self-interest: it held that man is naturally sociable, denied that social life is a mere deal one individual calculatingly makes with other individuals. This leads Wills to further insights. Far from dismissing Jefferson's backward but humane thought on the Negro question as "racist" (as a Garry Wills column might do), he sensitively traces its clues to how Jefferson believed human society is constituted; and he apparently thinks Jefferson was right in principle, though wrong in his particular applications. It is worth noting that Jefferson thought slavery contrary to the laws of nature, but also held that Negroes, already enslaved, being naturally distinct from (not just inferior to) white men, could never enjoy genuine freedom in America; the only true emancipation would have to include mass deportation to a homeland where, as "one people," they could govern themselves. This position reminds one somewhat of the Distributists' version of Zionism—and it is from Distributism that Wills's own communitarianism is derived. In rescuing Jefferson et al. Wills may seem to be reading into them his own concern with what he nicely calls "the social affections." But he is really shaking hands with an older tradition, and showing, with a series of textual analyses as inspired as anything Willmoore Kendall ever wrote, how anachronistically we have misread them. His main thesis is in fact very much in the Kendall vein, and he too has the gift of imparting relevance and drama to arcane distinctions.

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And so, after two hundred years, we behold a new Jefferson—Wills's "invention"—repining for the broken harmonies of his symphony. The little tragedy of rejection is so beautifully redeemed by this book, rich with its author's many gifts, that one rejoices at the Congress' blunder: *O felix culpa!* □

Two Cheers for Capitalism
By Irving Kristol
Basic Books, 274 pp., $10

Does Freedom Work? Liberty and Justice in America
By Donald J. Devine
Caroline House, 192 pp., $10

DAS KAPITAL

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Irving Kristol is an enormously attractive writer. His style is notable not only for its wit but for a certain rueful candor that admits ambiguities and what he calls "an occasional wavering of intellectual purpose." In his pilgrimage from a modish leftism to the position he defines as "neo-conservative," he has discovered what he is against. The socialism he once espoused for idealistic reasons has, in practice, resulted in societies that range from the hideous to the merely squalid. But the new company that Kristol keeps—i.e., the capitalists—seem to him a disconcerting lot. He finds he likes their system but he can't quite bring himself to like *them.*

The virtue of capitalist society, as Mr. Kristol sees it, is that it does not want more than two cheers for itself. It does not pretend to absorb the full expression of the individual citizen's energies. It leaves the pulpits to the parsons, the arts to the artists, and it is notorious for its obliviousness to what is being taught in academe. But if capitalism, as a system, is to be commended for its refusal to dominate the individual, Mr. Kristol can't bring himself to excuse particular capitalists for their unwillingness to think politically.

The result of Kristol's separation of the 'ism from the 'ists is a tension that makes for interesting essays, which do not quite add up to a convincing book. He lectures the oil companies for their willingness to take their proportion of the profit resulting from the OPEC squeeze. The directors of the oil companies, he thinks, should have asked Washington to tax away the "tainted money." But would the money have become less tainted if it had been handed over to politicians to spend in their wasteful ways?

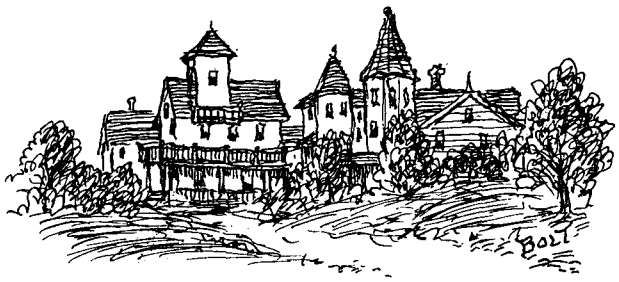
Milton Friedman would be justified in pointing out to Kristol that the proper response of any corporation to windfall profits is to plow them back into new operations, with a view to bringing unit prices down. But when the oil companies offered Friedman-type thinking in their press releases, Kristol dismissed it as a failure to "think politically." It doesn't bother him that if we had politicians running our oil companies we might never have had much oil.

As a "neo-conservative," Kristol wants contradictory things. He wants the non-totalitarian benefits of a capitalism that does not try to dominate government or dictate cultural and religious tastes. His real case, as Milton Friedman might insist, is not against the corporations as such for any failure to think politically, it is against the way stockholders choose to spend or invest the income the corporate managers earn for them.

True enough, I find it reprehensible that corporate managers do not support a press or a university system (the refusal to rally to the late lamented New York *Trib* is an example) in ways that would serve the long-term interests of the profit-maker. But if the stockholder beneficiary of profits were to exercise a better taste in publications, and a keener awareness of what is being dispensed as learning in the schools, Mr. Kristol would not have to concern himself with the political thinking of corporate managers.

Mr. Kristol's basic trouble comes from confused definitions. He speaks of a "conservative welfare state," meaning one that is compatible with fiscal sobriety and the cultivation of the work ethic. His program for a revitalized Republican Party is a good one: he would have the new Republicanism use tax deductibility to enlarge the scope of voluntary insurance. In other words, he is suggesting that we move away from a welfare state toward a welfare society. But he does not really give us much hope that the welfare state will ever wither away. He fears the power of the so-called New Class—the scientists, teachers, school administrators, journalists, psychologists, city planners, social workers, and lawyers—who make their careers by penetrating the large foundations, the federal and state government bureaucracies, and the communications industry. The best that business, which has provided the affluence that has brought the New Class into being, can hope to do is to teach the power-seeking intellectual to respect the actualities of production. But, since business confuses education with advertising, this will not happen tomorrow. It will, in Kristol's estimation, take not a year but a generation.

There is a forlorn quality to Mr. Kristol's thinking. No doubt it is the part of the realist to be forlorn. The problems of bourgeois society, as he sees it, have more to do with "the death of God" than they do with economics or politics. The best he can say of the bourgeois order is that it is not as fragile as its enemies think or its friends fear. The ordinary man, he says, will settle for the "merely satisfactory"—i.e., a continuation of "mixed economy" compromises.



But Mr. Kristol, along with his "neo-conservative" friends, has less real impact than he ought, chiefly because of the tepidness of his appreciation of the "association sector." The "bourgeois" would be in a better position to get more of Tocqueville's free association into the political and social "mix" if our neo-conservatives would only pick up where Richard Cornuelle left off in his neglected *Reclaiming the American Dream.*

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In presenting the case for the relative "fairness" of capitalist society in detailed statistical terms as well as in Lockean generalities, Donald J. Devine's *Does Freedom Work?* provides a better rallying standard than Mr. Kristol's *Two Cheers for Capitalism*. Mr. Devine riddles the pretensions of the welfare state in a searching statistical analysis that proves the brutality of its supposedly ameliorative agencies. The inflation that is intrinsic to the welfare state bears down with special cruelty on the aged, destroying the value of their savings "even after a lifetime of self-sufficient earning and saving." Hundreds of billions of dollars in national wealth that might have been used constructively have been squandered by the state welfarists since 1933.

Mr. Devine sums up the "staggering social costs" of our welfare philosophy in some remarkably blunt sentences. A sample paragraph: "Hundreds of thousands of youth, and especially minority youth, have become unemployed or underemployed through minimum wage and related unemployment laws: millions of children are taught values their parents object to and thousands of children are transported out of their neighborhoods while the poorer support the better-off to obtain income through higher education. At the same time, almost everyone is forced to pay more dearly for medical and hospital care while, at the cost of tens of billions of dollars, housing programs have resulted in less and more-costly housing for the poor. In addition, even food and clothing essentials have been made more difficult to obtain for those most in need as a direct and indirect result of government regulation, while everybody's savings have been ravaged by inflation."

On Mr. Devine's evidence, only the tremendous vitality of the market sector has enabled the American Republic to stagger through the past half-century.

The trouble with Mr. Devine's heavily statistical presentation, which relies on tables, is that it is not particularly ingratiating. Mr. Devine convinces by the sheer weight of numbers. The lesson is incontrovertible, but there is more fun in reading Mr. Kristol's mixture of wit and arithmetic. The literary advantages of casting one's reflections in the form of what amounts to an autobiographical hegira instead of grounding them in charts and graphs is incontestable. One's only wish is that Mr. Kristol's peregrinations would lead him more rapidly to Mr. Devine's conclusions. □

Watergate and the Constitution
By Philip B. Kurland
University of Chicago Press, 261 pp., $12.50

TAKING WATERGATE SERIOUSLY

IRVING YOUNGER

Busy people must not be prodigal with the hours they give over to entertainment, nor should honorable men and women risk debasement by immoderate exposure to the impudence of blackguards. Of course, then, among the serried stacks of his helpers' confessions, Nixon's memoirs will soon range high on the remainder table. Let us put that episode behind us, good folks are now heard to sigh. Let us turn to fresh woods, and pastures new. But that would be too easy a conclusion to events more subtle than some of those good folk may think. There is much of importance still to say, despite what so many have already said. It is time to be serious about Watergate.

In 1859, when the chairman of the Illinois Republican State Committee broached with him the possibility of going after the presidential nomination, Lincoln hesitated. Was the Senate not a more suitable situation for a man of ability and ambition? To be Chief Executive might turn out to be a sort of genteel retirement. Whatever his doubts, Lincoln chose the White House and, dealing with the greatest crisis since the Revolution, laid the foundations of the modern Presidency. Technology, capital, and population assured that the United States would lead the the world, yet neither the legislative nor the judicial branch was fit to guide the way. That was work for Presidents, work which both required and created power of a magnitude rarely before concentrated in any one man. Such power seldom or never fails to corrupt, and Nixon's predecessors did not escape. The merest sampling of instances would include: every President from Washington through Johnson finding the occasion to refuse Congress' demands for information; Jefferson despising the press and speculating that, on the whole, the nation would benefit by its suppression; and Eisenhower in Lebanon, Truman in Korea, and Kennedy and Johnson in Vietnam, making war without benefit of congressional declaration.

Nixon was different from his predecessors only in that Nixon's malversations brought on Watergate. There are three principal reasons why it happened to him and not to the rest.

First, Nixon's lack of political civility, the equivalent in public life of the tact, self-restraint, and sympathy for the sensibilities of other people which make private intercourse bearable. An incivil man, Nixon made enemies who were, when the moment came, unwilling to look the other way.

Second, his incompetence. Competence is an insufficiently appreciated aspect of human affairs, and Nixon should not be taxed with his lack of it as if he were unique. Withal, Nixon's exquisite ability throughout Watergate to do exactly the wrong thing approached the uncanny.

Third, Nixon's character, his moral stature. One wishes to be neither strident nor old-fashioned, but men do vary in respect of character, and only a fool or a knave refuses to acknowledge the contrast between high and low. Gerald Ford, for example, may have been unequal to the intellectual demands of the Presidency, but he was obviously not of ignoble character. Nixon was.

Nevertheless, many people say, the system worked, and for that we must give thanks. If it is cause for celebration that the country got through Watergate without a *coup d'état*, that Nixon never ordered the Joint Chiefs of Staff to padlock the door of the Supreme Court or to arrest the House Judiciary Committee, why then celebration is in order.

Surely, though, the "system" involves something more than brute survival. It presupposes a nice balance among Congress, the courts, and the President. As set down in the Constitution, the "system" specifies the removal from office of an unworthy President by

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means of impeachment. It implies punishment for crimes committed while in office through prosecution after removal. It does not encompass such phenomena as a District Judge who takes over the investigation of a criminal case, a Supreme Court that passes upon disputes between coordinate branches of government, and a pardon which is issued in blank following a resignation in disgrace.

The reader desiring to pursue these matters will study Philip Kurland's splendid book, *Watergate and the Constitution.* It takes the constitutional issues raised by Watergate—congressional investigations, executive privilege, the role of the judiciary, the President's authority to appoint and remove subordinate officials, impeachment, pardons, and separation of powers—and lucidly summarizes the history and law a citizen needs to form an enlightened opinion. About his own views Professor Kurland is forthright. He believes that Watergate in all of its ramifications endangered the Republic. He believes that danger still threatens. And he believes that the way to safety lies in "the rule of reason based on experience, both of which guided the Founding Fathers to the framing of a Constitution that we still purport to follow. . . . It is not fear of particular events, but fear of the corruption of the Constitution that should now provide us the motivating force for hope."

Countrymen, take heed. □

ART

WHAT IS HE?

RUTH BERENSON

By lending its premises to a full-scale retrospective of the drawings and assemblages of Saul Steinberg, the Whitney Museum is trying to settle once and for all a question that has bothered Steinberg's army of fans for years: What is he? a humorist? a cartoonist? an illustrator? Even Steinberg himself admits his work is hard to define. "I don't quite belong in the art, cartoon, or magazine world," he said once, "so that the art world doesn't know how to classify me." The Whitney, however, has made up its mind: Steinberg is above all an artist, however he chooses to express himself and in whatever medium. At a time when the formerly rigid distinctions between drawing and painting, photography and painting, drawing and photography, documentary and fiction, have quite broken down, it doesn't really matter *how* Steinberg is classified—and one comes away from this exhibition convinced that whatever the nature of his creation, it is a major one. He emerges as a loner who hides behind a mask and yet speaks to, and for, everybody; an alien and an outsider who sees things that are hidden from most of us.

His vocabulary is uniquely his own, and has become as instantly recognizable as Daumier's lawyers or Grosz's bloated capitalists, though it is far more varied: cats, crocodiles, high-heeled ladies with helmet-like coiffures; personified geometrical shapes, alphabets, numbers, each leading its own life; animated household equipment; official-looking documents; faces made from cut-out brown paper bags. But while the meanings of Daumier and Grosz are clear, Steinberg's are anything but. Before Dada and Surrealism, his art would have been unthinkable—but Steinberg is not out to thumb his nose at the bourgeoisie like Hülsenbeck or to sneer at democracy like John Heartfield, though he is aware of human frailty. His world is concrete yet irrational; though obviously a projection of his inner self, it is unsusceptible to Freudian analysis. It is anything but abstract and admits of no formal strictures, "To be involved in aesthetics only," he says—"that, for me, is worthless. I want to say something."

But what? As with the metaphysical poets, who, like Steinberg, are accessible only through their metaphors, his meanings are often double or even triple, and nearly always ambiguous. One thinks one has grasped his intent, only to discover on closer examination that one has overlooked an association of ideas, a nuance of emphasis, a deliberate omission, an allusion (to TV, comics, advertising, classical mythology, Shakespeare, Picasso, baseball) that alters one's first perception and may, in fact, reverse it. The man who has taken his nose off, for instance, made me think of the fun kids have with false noses. But this man's nose is real, and he has taken it off his face as if it were a pair of glasses, not a part of himself. A further thought: is he man? He has no legs, and he and his chair are drawn in a single continuous line. His arm is three-dimensional, but the table, chair, body, head, and still-life details are all incomplete, with only the enigmatic rubber stamp in the corner (a Steinberg trademark) seen whole. Steinberg's crazy logic reminds one of the German poet, Christian Morgenstern, one of whose verses begins, "*A knee travels lonely through the world,*" and ends, "*It is a knee, nothing else.*" The same goes for Steinberg's nose.

Steinberg happily acknowledges his debts to art history, to "Egyptian paintings, latrine drawings, primitive and insane art, Seurat, children's drawings, Paul Klee." His work also displays an encyclopedic knowledge of the permutations which painting has undergone in the twentieth century, from Post-Impressionism to Abstraction and Pop; as the critic Harold Rosenberg points

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out in his catalogue introduction, he anticipated the latter by twenty years and more. His mastery of the inked line derives from his training as an architect, as do his fanciful buildings, which go from Beaux-Arts to Bauhaus to Art Deco gas stations and the Vegas strip.

Though his art seems so very American, Steinberg sees this country with the eyes of the naturalized, not the native-born. He was 27 when he immigrated, having spent his childhood in Rumania and his student years in Milan (where he earned his living as a cartoonist); he was a refugee in Portugal and Santo Domingo until *The New Yorker* magazine rescued him by sponsoring his entry in 1941. His years of precarious legality are immortalized in his elaborately phony official documents with their indecipherable calligraphies, seals, and smudges; these are graphic counterparts of Menotti's opera, *The Consul*. Steinberg's view of America is like that of Nabokov in Humbert Humbert's endless cross-country travels, and it is just as replete with puns, wordplays, and astonishment; his rubberstamp Indians, his Abraham-Lincoln-as-Sphinx, are distillations of the European dream-America, part rosy vision, part nightmare.

STEINBERG SEES not only America with the eyes of an outsider, but the rest of the world also (he is a tireless traveler), as well as its inanimate accoutrements. Through an apparently unconscious process akin to the Freudian technique of free association, he makes connections between seemingly unrelated phenomena and persuades us of their validity. Chaplin, in *The Great Dictator*, equating the world with a child's balloon, was doing the same thing; when he gleefully tossed the balloon up high, he made Hitler's megalomania, his contempt for morality, more real than all the statistics, arguments, and polemics of his enemies. In retrospect, the connection of world-balloon seems obvious, but it was left to Chaplin to make it so. Steinberg's gift is similar, and of an equally high order. (To July 9; at the Hirshhorn Museum, Washington, D.C., October 13 to November 26. It will later be seen at the Serpentine Gallery, London, and the Fondation Maeght, Saint-Paul-de-Vence.) □

The GIMLET EYE

A DAY FOR SOVIET JEWRY

D. KEITH MANO

The Russian is above this sort of thing: ten, twelve, storeys above. On his embassy roof: alone.

DEATH TO THE RUSSIAN PIGS!

He will absorb their plural. Puh: a clump of cigarette smoke blown out in spite. Up, away: then gashed to shreds by wind. It has the form and sudden laziness of a shrug: gone.

WHAT DO WE WANT? BREZHNEV! BREZHNEV!

Damn excellent cigarette: puh. I'll get an American lung cancer. My comrades will be jealous. Look at them: the JDL. Apes on Third Avenue.

HOW DO WE WANT HIM? DEAD! DEAD!

Don't bother, little children. Leonid is so weak now, he can only shave three times a day.

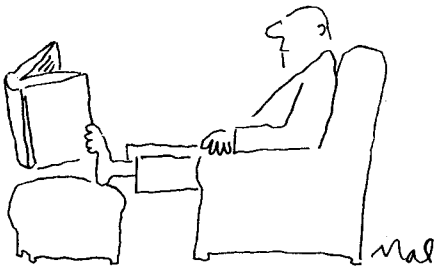
NEVER AGAIN! NEVER AGAIN!

Always again, always again: demonstrating to get their Jewish brethren out. Solidarity Sunday: so impressive, so useful. Such a good day for Russia.

RUSSIAN BLOOD ON NEW YORK STREETS!

But, fag done, the counter-demonstration—it, he—has gone in.

And, below, the demonstration—it, she—will go on. Bonnie Pechter, JDL national directress, is cheerleading—give me an M—for Murder, Mutilate, Maim. All of her skin is the skin of eyelids: creased, lipid fatty, pale. Slave earrings; chain smoke; her electric blue eyeshadow has shorted out by now. "Listen. You better mean what you say. DEATH TO BREZHNEV!" And then she slumps: from assassin berserk, to cynical fourth-for-mah-jongg bored. And they would be silent, shy without her:



of the seventy or so, sixty are children. Some not even high-school children. Four or five wear black fighter-pilot helmets. One 16-year-old has headgear a size too tight. It'll keep popping his eardrums: ow, ow, you can hear him say, as he jerks an earflap up. I talk to him: "Where are the adults?" "They tend to move up when they get older. Ow." "Up to what, the B'nai B'rith?" But an adult has cut in: he doesn't fancy my notebook. "Someone wants to see you," he will tell the earshot child. "Who?" "*Someone wants to see you.*" And the 16-year-old, obedient, has left. Into a vacant doorway: where Someone is.

Crank your Timex back: noon, same day. We're marching to Battery Park on Broadway and page 19 of the *New York Times*. I am ebullient: a secret Jew. No, 5.7 Jews: a crowd of about 35,000 that will be announced as 200,000 again and again. Children in concentration camp striping precede us: it challenges melodrama: the challenge will not be taken up. And they are there: Orlov, Ginzburg, Shcharansky, Begin: personalized by five-foot blowups. I find it moving: I mooch emotion and anger. And I thought then—at noon, at two, at four—as all we who are conservative have thought, Thank God for Soviet Jewry. This is the first New York demonstration of any sort in six years where I haven't had some Socialist-Communist broadsheet pushed on me. I once got Socialist Labor Party hand-outs at a car accident.

THE BATTERY is charged up: three senators, 13 congressmen, mayor, governor. Flags, rabble-roused by an ocean breeze, keep up polite tennis applause. G-D FORGIVE US FOR VOTING FOR CARTER. CARTER LIES, LIFSCHUTZ SWEARS TO IT. Robert Lifschutz, C-RT-R's representative, will go over like a bronze kreplach. DUMP CARTER NOW! DUMP CARTER NOW! To be Jewish and talk Georgia Southern: it seems an ethnic oxymoron. Moynihan is careful, fine, but Senator Robert Packwood (R., Ore.), who probably couldn't tell a synagogue from a demagogue, wins Aphorist of the Afternoon. "Not one inch!" he yells. And I—having sublet my mind to the crowd—shout, "Not one inch of Israeli soil! No arms to Saudi Arabia! No! No . . . whatever!" It's a good day for sweet, firm naïveté.

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But the Timex has ticked ahead: it tends to: five o'clock now. I watch three Russians saunter: a diplomatic traipse almost. They walk right at Bonnie Pechter, at her larval and foolish platoon. RUSSIAN BLOOD ON NEW YORK STREETS! There is fender bonging, but DPL 6320 has slid through. And I think: the Russians, they must be pitch-brained. Just let those Jews out, and nothing, no one, in America would oppose their esurient will. Then I recall it: metal teeth laughing, a machine's pleasure, in that limousine backseat.

Start with Postulate I: the Russians aren't imbecile. Indeed, they've come across a most rare find: the more they persecute Jews, the more they benefit. World Opinion is irrelevant; Carter's stance on human freedom is steady as old Wallenda's, last time out. The Politburo can see now that each new crime against a Soviet Jew will further numb and muddle U.S. foreign policy. Don't you think they could've held off sentencing Orlov until *after* Solidarity Sunday: three days? They meant to incite. Every Jewish march, every Jewish letter in Congress makes it more improbable that we will ever agree with the OPEC nations. Not one inch, bull: what would a President Packwood do? He'd jam that mad slogan in the shredder, first thing. And some Democrat would probably dig it out. Orlov and Ginzburg and Shcharansky, they're a Russian natural resource. Their torment, God help them, is Realpolitik now.

WELL, I'LL SAY IT. American Jews are a convenient Russian tool. And we, the rest of us, have made them that. Leave aside one or two wise denominations—Eastern Orthodox, say—and where would you come up with five New York Christians to demonstrate for their enslaved brethren in Russia? Yuri Orlov is a man, dammit, not just a Jew. His right to freedom has no racial character. With a little spine, a little compassion, there might have been one invincible American consensus for Soviet human rights—Jewish, Christian, atheist—that the Russians couldn't isolate on. But just watch. When the OPEC oil gauge hits E, we'll blame American Jewry. Yet our real oppressor is not Brezhnev or the KGB. It's men like Bishop Paul Moore, who wouldn't march from their TV to their icebox for the sake of a persecuted Soviet Christian. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

ABORTION IN AMERICA, *by James Mohr (Oxford, 327 pp., $12.50).* This book is the obvious vanguard of an intellectual *sortie en masse* on the part of the pro-abortion forces; it is the beneficiary of plugola from the *Saturday Review* and pelf from both the Rockefeller and the Ford Foundation. Its thesis is simple and straightforward: 1) abortion is just as American as apple pie; 2) the former nationwide web of constraints was simply a monopoloid restraint of trade imposed by a faction of doctors upon the profession in particular and the public in general; 3) Mr. Justice Blackmun's opinion in *Roe* v. *Wade* has now "restored to American women a . . . right." All this comes wrapped in a text which includes an impressive array of quotations and citations and is nicely sprinkled and garnished with supermarket no-Popery. The book has a few good points, however. It offers inferential support for the view (although nineteenth century research in embryology goes virtually unnoticed) that the common law's critical point of "quickening" is the sheerest superstition. Moreover, the author enriches the tongue of Milton with "abortee," thus providing a less black-comedy term than "mother" to describe the unfortunate woman who undergoes an abortion.

GERALD T. DUNNE

THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS: *American Conceptions of Property from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century, by William B. Scott (Indiana University Press, 244 pp., $12.50).* This chronicle of the importance Americans have attached to the widespread distribution of property and the sanctity of private possession helps explain why the United States has been the only major industrial nation in which classical socialism has had virtually no influence, and why we have been relatively immune to the blandishments of collectivist ideologues. Traditionally, the concept of private property was associated with an idea of opportunity dating from an era in which Americans believed they could control their own labor—and thus their fate—through the ownership of farms and small businesses. Scott questions whether this is still relevant, now that the dominant form of property ownership is corporate. Conservatives, in turn, will query whether the ownership of property is as attenuated as Scott believes. Nevertheless, the large corporate conglomerations do exist and are a challenge to conservative thinkers: how should conservatives respond when faced with a choice between economic freedom and the preservation of small propertied holdings which are threatened by corporate farms, chain stores, and large manufacturing units? ITT and GM, are, after all, not quite what Jefferson, John Taylor of Carolina, and Horace Greeley had in mind.

EDWARD SHAPIRO

MENAHEM BEGIN, *by Eitan Haber (Delacorte, 321 pp., $9.95).* Haber's portrait of the Israeli Prime Minister is an admiring one, but it is by no means adulatory or totally blind to criticism of Begin. The portrait that emerges is one of a sincere but emotional nationalist, ready to charge to the barricades whenever the Jewish state's security is threatened. From his Zionist Betar days in Poland to his experience as a prisoner of Stalin's Gulag to his steely leadership of the underground Irgun Zvi Leumi, Begin has never been afraid to adopt minority positions or to risk his life for his beliefs. As leader of the Irgun he was often at odds with the establishment Haganah, who then cooperated with the British in tracking down Begin's men. Yet, his sense of national responsibility prevented brutal retaliation against fellow Jews. Again and again, he displayed similar restraint in the face of provocation by political opponents. As head of Israel's tiny Herut party, Begin led the opposition to the ruling socialist government for over two decades, slowly living down an unearned reputation as a former "terrorist" and crypto-fascist. Finally taken into a coalition government during the Six Day War, he impressed many people with his brand of patriotism, which transcended partisan boundaries. Haber, a noted Israeli journalist, provides a generally balanced judgment, along with some very lucid and readable prose, in this timely biography.

DAVID PIETRUSZA

CAPTAIN PANTOJA AND THE SPECIAL SERVICE, *by Mario Vargas Llosa (Harper, 244 pp., $10.95).* In his latest novel to receive an English translation, Peruvian Mario Vargas Llosa abandons his usual somber tone for an atmosphere of slapstick comedy and light satire, which effectively pokes fun at many aspects of Peruvian life. Captain Panteleon Pantoja is ordered

(Continues on page 855)

Author's Query

For a biography of the American novelist John O'Hara, to be published by E. P. Dutton, I should be grateful for information about him, including documents and copies of correspondence.

Frank MacShane
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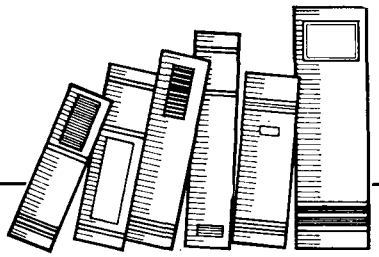

Dark Horses

THOUGH THE process is concededly a slow one, liberal disenchantment with old-fangled notions of government regulation is edging over from the intellectual to the political arena.

Nicely symbolizing the transition is Charles L. Schultze, former senior economist at the Brookings Institution and currently chairman of President Carter's Council of Economic Advisors. Schultze's recently published *The Public Use of Private Interest* (Brookings Institution, 1775 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, $7.95), based on his Godkin Lectures at Harvard, is a stinging condemnation of federal regulatory action—not, to be sure, of federal regulation as such, but of its practical application in the realm of public policy.

The problem, Schultze observes, is that successful regulation in our complex economy depends upon affecting *behavior*—in certain instances, the behavior of literally millions of people. Such influence cannot be effectively wielded, he says, by efforts to manipulate objects (e.g., the OSHA program), or attempts to transmit highly detailed orders through the ganglia of the bureaucracy (e.g., the current thicket of health-care regulations). What is needed instead, he argues, is to adapt the mechanism of the market with its behavior-guiding financial incentives to the chosen tasks of regulation—substituting taxes and fines for detailed efforts at direction.

Schultze's formula assumes, of course, that the federal regulators actually know what's good for us, and only need to set about inducing us to do it by some different method. This assumption is challenged—at least implicitly—by the researches of several scholars, many of them liberals, in *Regulating Business: The Search for an Optimum*, one of a continuing series of first-rate economic handbooks from the Institute for Contemporary Studies (Suite 811, 260 California St., San Francisco, Calif. 94111, $5.95).

Contributors to this volume include academicians Paul A. MacAvoy of Yale (a former advisor to George McGovern), Donald Jacobs of Northwestern, Almarin Phillips of Pennsylvania, Richard H. Holton of Berkeley, and Chris Argyris, Penny Hollander Feldman, and Richard Zeckhauser of Harvard. Also participating are CAB Chairman Alfred E. Kahn, Paul H. Weaver of *Fortune*, V. Kerry Smith of Resources for the Future, and ICS executive director A. Lawrence Chickering. These authors provide us with a number of valuable insights, among which are the following:

Despite the high and rising cost of regulation, there is almost no empirical evidence that it has conferred substantial benefits upon society. Many of the problems in our economic system invoked as reasons for additional regulation, as in the matter of health-care costs, are the results of regulations already on the books. When regulation becomes too onerous, de-regulation occurs de facto as resources are shifted to non-regulated sectors. Consumer dissatisfaction with business varies directly with increases in apparent size and loss of face-to-face contact.

FINALLY, a useful addition to the burgeoning literature on regulation is *Workplace Safety and Health*, by James Robert Chelius of Purdue (American Enterprise Institute, 1150 17th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, $2.75). Chelius shows that the long-term trend in the industrial injury rate has been in a downward direction, and that recent federal regulatory efforts on this front have had no appreciable impact in terms of safety. (He attributes the upward curve in the industrial injury rate in the 1960s to the influx of new workers, reflecting the baby boom that occurred in the aftermath of World War II.) Like Schultze, he recommends a mix of financial penalties and rewards in place of the fiat regulatory approach to safety preferred by OSHA.

—M. STANTON EVANS

Jill Krementz

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WARREN EARL BURGER

INTERVIEWED

The Court's function is limited by the Constitution. It is the most limited of all three branches. . . . It was so intended by the authors of the Constitution. . . . In our system each of the three branches of government—executive, legislative, and judicial—should try to keep within its own orbit. (The Chief Justice of the United States was interviewed by the *United States News*.)

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BRIEFS

(Continued from page 852)

by the Peruvian military higher-ups to recruit a group of prostitutes to service the army personnel in jungle barracks along the Amazon. Pantoja is the perfect intermediary, perfectly at home in the bureaucratic mish-mash of the military, addicted to detail—he is the servant of society (in this case the military) who obeys to the fullest and never questions why an order is given. Pantoja's Special Service for Garrisons, Frontier and Related Installations (SSGFRI) is an immense success. But while the military higher-ups debate the merits of the Service, Pantoja must contend with the wild lives of his recruits; with a group of religious fanatics whose leader gains thousands of devotees (including Pantoja's mother) by crucifying himself; and the Voice of Sinshi, an unscrupulous radio commentator who tries to blackmail the army by threatening to expose the secret SSGFRI. But the Service becomes too successful—the navy and the air force and even civilians want the benefits of the SSGFRI extended to them. Attempts are made to kidnap the recruits, and in one incident, Pantoja's girlfriend, Brazil, is killed and crucified by the religious fanatics. Pantoja orders her buried with military honors, which proves too much for the military brass, and the SSGFRI is disbanded. . . . Vargas Llosa directs his satire (unfortunately, it lacks bite) at Pantoja, the intermediary in the bureaucratic system, using a technique which proves only mildly interesting—a montage of letters, military communiqués, radio broadcasts, hype journalism, dreams, and dialogues. I suspect, however, that the novel's simplicity of style will be welcomed by many readers interested in plot.

THOMAS BRIDGES

SOLZHENITSYN

(Continued from page 841)

If humanism were right in declaring that man is born to be happy, he would not be born to die. Since his body is doomed to die, his task on earth evidently must be of a more spiritual nature. It cannot be unrestrained enjoyment of everyday life. It cannot be the search for the best ways to obtain material goods and then cheerfully get the most out of them. It has to be the fulfillment of a permanent, earnest duty, so that one's life journey may become an experience of moral growth, so that one may leave life a better human being than one started it. It is imperative to review the table of widespread human values. Its present incorrectness is astounding. It is not possible to reduce the assessment of the President's performance to the question of how much money one makes or of unlimited availability of gasoline. Only voluntarily inspired self-restraint can raise man above the stream of materialism.

It would be retrogression to attach oneself today to the ossified formulas of the Enlightenment. Social dogmatism leaves us completely helpless before the trials of our times.

Even if we are spared destruction by war, our lives will have to change if we want to save life from self-destruction. We cannot avoid revising the fundamental definitions of human life and human society. Is it true that man is above everything? Is there no Higher Spirit above him? Is it right that man's life and society's activities have to be determined by material expansion in the first place? Is it permissible to promote such expansion to the detriment of our spiritual integrity?

If the world has not come to its end, it has approached a major turn in history, equal in importance to the turn from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. It will exact from us a spiritual upsurge, we shall have to rise to a new height of vision, to a new level of life where our physical nature will not be cursed as in the Middle Ages, but, even more importantly, our spiritual being will not be trampled upon as in the Modern Era.

This ascension will be similar to climbing onto the next anthropological stage. No one on earth has any way left but—upward. □

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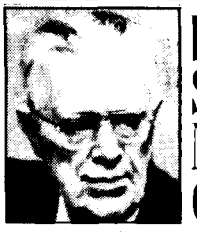

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WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

McGovern & Newman at the UN

On The Right

New York, June 16—It could be said, one supposes, that the character of our representatives in the United Nations is exactly appropriate to that body. But one wonders, really, whether President Carter isn't overdoing it a little. I mean, George McGovern and Paul Newman as public delegates to the current disarmament conference.

Concerning Senator McGovern, the question really is, Wouldn't it be more appropriate for him to serve on the Soviet delegation? You see, Senator McGovern has a view about international tensions which he developed back when he was advocating the election of Henry Wallace as President. He has not changed that position. His idea, briefly stated, is that the United States is responsible for the cold war. Anyone who believes that, and goes to a disarmament conference, is not likely to look after the interests of the United States. Actually, those of us who have served as public delegates to the United Nations are in a position to confirm that it would not matter if the President sent there J. Fred Muggs or King Timahoe to represent us. But inasmuch as Mr. Carter seeks to be convincing on the subject of disarmament, why these strange choices?

Senator McGovern writes in his recently published memoirs: "I saw the Soviet desire to control the political alignment of its Western neighbors . . . not as the beginning of a Soviet march across Europe, Hitler-style; rather, it was a Soviet reaction, however regrettable, to two world wars. Without excusing the aggressive behavior of the Soviets in Eastern Europe after 1945, I have always believed that we not only overreacted to it, but indeed helped to trigger it by our own post-World War II fears." The difficulty with that analysis is that there was not one fear that proved injustified.

But Senator McGovern's vision is a consistently distorted one. *Commentary* magazine, reviewing his book, observes: "McGovern's warm words for the [North] Vietnamese pale before his reverential description of Fidel Castro, who is seen to be possessed of the virtues both of a dedicated revolutionary ('poised, confident, and questioning') and a man of intellect and good taste ('shy, soft-spoken, and sensitive'). . . . In the end, he is captivated by Castroism to a far greater degree than even avowed leftist sympathizers of the Cuban regime."

Since public delegates are required to say what is prescribed by Washington, it would be fun if Senator McGovern were directed to give an anti-Communist address. Perhaps he would defect rather than do so.

Senator McGovern's fellow delegate, the actor Paul Newman, is brilliantly chosen. He plays Rochester to McGovern's Benny. Recently Mr. Newman appeared on the *Today* show, and his answer to the question, What did he feel he could contribute to a disarmament conference? one is obliged to pass along intact. Any failure to do so would lead to the suspicion that that reply was unfairly edited. Paul Newman said: "I have been on the board of directors of a group called [transcript unclear] Information for about five years, and what I get is an independent view of the arms race and of the Pentagon, and provided—I mean, I get information that isn't provided by the Pentagon, by the Defense Department, that is simply self-serving. I must say I am uncertain in some areas as, of diplomatic procedure and diplomatic in-fighting and regional in-fighting and so forth, but I've done my homework, and one thing that I've assured myself of is this country is negotiating from such a position of fierce and massive power that any accusations that can relate again to conciliation or anything like that are frivolous and that people who submit statements and charges like that ought to be chased with butterfly nets."

Speaking of butterfly nets reminds us of the maxim: Physician, heal thyself. As to why he was selected as a delegate, Mr. Newman answered the interrogator, ". . . if ten or twenty or sixty or a hundred or a thousand or two thousand more people are watching this show for the wrong reason, and if I can get their attention and make them do their homework about where this country's standards are, then I simply will have served a function, won't I?"

Just what that function is, given the clarity of Mr. Newman's thought, is difficult to describe. Although, you know, those Georgians in the White House are pretty shrewd people. Perhaps they are thinking that after a hundred conferences with the Soviet delegate, Mr. Newman will have so confused the Soviet Union that it will unwittingly dismantle its entire intercontinental missile system; or, more likely, that the Soviet Union will determine that the farce at the United Nations isn't worth one more conference with Paul Newman. Either way, the U.S. stands to gain. □

EXIT P.E.N. *New York*, June 5—On May 22, at its 43rd annual convention, held in Stockholm, the Poets, Playwrights, Essayists, Editors, and Novelists, everywhere known as PEN, expelled from membership its Chilean chapter. This isn't the kind of thing PEN does every day. The last time a chapter of PEN was expelled was before the war, when the German chapter was booted out on the grounds that it was a Nazi front. Freedom lovers will be cheered to note that the expulsion of Chile drew the approval of the PEN representatives from the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, and Poland.

Karen Kennerley, the spokesman for PEN's American chapter, in New York City, explained: "The Chilean center was expelled because rather than be an independent organization of writers, it was felt to be an arm of a totalitarian government, a government that was suppressing writers."

Now a representative of an organization of poets, playwrights, essayists, editors, and novelists ought, just to begin with, to learn something about usage and abusage of the language. Chile's is not a "totalitarian" government. The word "totalitarian" is—Miss

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Kennerley may take notes here, if she desires—related to the word "total." And any government textbook will inform you that a government is not totalitarian if it permits a fair measure of freedom. In Chile, people can come and go. They can practice their religion. They can publish books, including books critical of the government. The state of siege has been lifted. The press regularly criticizes the government. Foreigners can lecture publicly. The judiciary in Chile is independent enough to overturn decisions of the ruling military junta, as it recently did in reopening a radio station closed by the government. Chile is a country in which there is no political freedom. As such it ranks with the other 120-odd nations in the world without effective political freedom, including all but three nations in Latin America.

THE AMERICAN-Chilean Council, whose American chairman is former Ambassador John Davis Lodge, has recently circulated a statement by the Chilean Minister of the Interior, Sergio Fernandez. General Pinochet recently had declared a wide political amnesty, but, said Fernandez, he made one specific exclusion. "The government will continue to cooperate in the investigation of . . . the despicable assassination of Orlando Letelier and will . . . pursue whatever sanctions may be applicable to the culprits regardless of their position or nationality. Amnesty is not applicable to persons whose participation in such an abominable crime has been proven."

This statement is particularly relevant in the light of the weekend's announcement that the FBI have got something on the order of a confession from an American who claims that, with the aid of anti-Castro Cubans, he effected the assassination of Orlando Letelier—on instructions from DINA, the secret police of Pinochet, since disbanded. If one understands the Minister of the Interior correctly, he is saying that anyone in DINA who is proven to have engaged in the "despicable assassination" will suffer the full penalties of the law. That is not the kind of thing that happens in totalitarian societies.

Really, the besetting sin of our century is that disproportion identified by C. S. Lewis. The "selective indignation" about which the late Sir Arnold Lunn wrote. Black armbands worn by students protesting the policies of South Africa while China and Russia and Cuba burn poets alive. Well, that sin has the effect of easing one's organizational payload. Early this year, when Amnesty International decided it would campaign officially against capital punishment, it lost at least this member; who herewith resigns from PEN. □

FREE WHO?

New York, June 12—Why doesn't President Carter pardon Patty Hearst?

Presumably because he is afraid to do so, and here is one of the ignobilities of our time concerning which not much is being said. Patricia Hearst is in jail because she is a member of a wealthy and conspicuous family whose progenitor left an impression of arrogance financed by sensationalism. There is little doubt about it. William Randolph Hearst Sr. would have had a field day with the kidnapping of Patty Hearst if she had been, let us say, Patty Duke, or Patty Mellon, or Patty Whitney. If she had been Patty Hearst, he'd have offered to run the prosecutor for governor of California. The myth persists, and people who only dimly remember the emperor of San Simeon, dimly remember that the grandfather of Patty Hearst was someone who liked to run the lives of other people, and asseverate on his own ideas of justice. I do not doubt that the old man's memory figures in the disposition of Patty Hearst.

It is correct that she was tried and found guilty by a jury. There is no denying that she was guilty. She did indeed help rob a bank, associating herself with a band of guerrillas whose clutch on fantasy is suggested by the name they gave their organization: the Symbionese Liberation Army. In due course most of them would perish by the sword, leaving two or three survivors who wandered about the country—with Patty Hearst, in a seemingly endless condition of hypnotism. Or is that the right word?

The former publisher of the *San Francisco Examiner*, Charles Gould, recently brought together a few examples of men and women who have exhibited something which goes under the name of the Stockholm Syndrome. In Stockholm in 1971 an extraordinary and dismaying crime took place, which arrested the front pages of the tabloid press. A bank robber, usefully engaged in the practice of his profession, was interrupted by the police. To protect himself, he herded four hostages into a bank vault and kept them there without food or water, wallowing in their own ordure, over a period of six days. When finally they were released, their attitude toward their captor astounded men and women who have never been locked in a bank vault for six days, communicating only with their captor. They kissed him goodbye, and declined to testify against him.

The attention of the curious of this world was riveted by the phenomenon, which we began to notice in succeeding episodes. The occupants of a hijacked airplane, forced hour after hour to sit still in their seats, abused by their captors, held in hot climates, eventually released—joining in high praise for their captors. The woman in the British prison detained almost two days and freed after a shoot-out—who railed not against the convicts who had held her, but against the guards who had released her. Reg Murphy (who was editor of the *Atlanta Constitution* at the time he was kidnapped), held in the trunk of a car, explained in his extraordinary revelations upon his release the fugitive sympathy he felt for his kidnapper, the sense of mutuality of purpose when the felon swiveled his way by the police cars seeking to track him down. The Ambassador to Brazil, who after three days began to identify, as they say, with his captors.

IT IS PAINFUL to recall what was done to Patricia Hearst. Not yet twenty, she was treated as severely as a prisoner of war in the worst camps of Japan, North Vietnam, or Russia—with the distinctive loneliness of being one of a kind. Week after week after week in a closet, starved, ravished, choking in the fumes of her own offal. If she had emerged from the experience as mad as the maddest inmate of the maddest madhouse, one cannot believe there would have been anything but surprise and sorrow. What she did was rob banks. If her captors had turned her in the direction of opening the cages of zoos, or burning the houses of poets, or hijacking dirigibles, that is what she'd have done. She was given a sentence of seven years in jail, and I defy the most lavishly fed computer in the country to come up with the name of anyone with experiences remotely like hers punished by eight months in jail, let alone eighty months.

The institution of clemency was established for such difficult cases. The authority to exercise it rests with the President. Jimmy Carter is a man of unusual intellectual powers, much taken with the shipwrecks in our vale of tears. If he cannot see the transcendent injustice here, it is because he affects not to see it. His acuity is easily sufficient for the enterprise, and he would enhance that reputation for justice that he has sought by acting to end the prolonged torment of this girl. □

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Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DIRECTIONS

A. To indulge in vagrant fancies — 58 191 13 88 144 171 179 194 133 190

B. What part of Missouri between Arkansas and Tennessee is called — 60 85 106 46 112 26 143 173

C. A diminutive, insignificant, or presumptuous person — 124 2 12 87 102 113 115 135 164 20 / 176 186 204 217

D. A rajah's wife — 142 51 166 178 36

E. A state of being unalterable — 210 44 78 98 101 90 125 223 17 32 / 116 62 151

F. What the Prodigal Son was — 19 196 216 211 67 193 69 152 170 183 / 131

G. What the head of the Internal Revenue Service is (careful!) — 23 163 157 117 123 99 132 136 150 159 / 185

H. To supervise — 35 27 50 225 167 65 83

I. One of the planets — 4 6 49 53 61 66 70

J. A novel by Jack London (fol. *The*) — 229 10 52 56 137 110 68 100 108 1 / 118 122 161

K. A source of noise pollution — 5 57 209 91 187

L. To make resplendent — 24 121 127 134 71 165 203 147 74 153

M. Equivalent — 38 207 218 11 202 64 75 103 119 130

N. A type of hospital care — 76 208 29 40 14 162 97 215 174

O. What the Senate floor leader hit when he lost a close vote — 84 3 72 18 22 25 7

P. Safe for an ocean voyage — 107 220 16 188 128 230 92 54 33

Q. Any compact, banded calcareous tufa that can be given a high polish — 109 77 93 205 219 231 47 31 146 156

R. Sharing expenses and profits equally — 138 28 154 222 233 201 79 158 169 41

S. Unscramble TEA BUN — 172 8 96 30 221 160

T. Rare — 94 80 145 37 228 120 9

U. Unscramble LATE THEMES — 126 39 182 55 82 86 141 148 168 155

V. Imperfectly formed — 180 95 232 140 149 197 111 48

W. Invalidated — 192 226 213 175 139 189 42

X. One who suffers from I-trouble — 195 212 214 181 81 59 199

Y. A form of radio or television entertainment — 21 45 63 177 114 206 89 104 227

Z. To insulate so as to keep out noise — 129 184 224 73 34 105 198 200 43 15

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 854 for Solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

1 J	2 C	3 O	4 I	■	5 K	6 I	7 O	8 S	9 T	10 J	11 M	12 C	13 A	14 N	■	15 Z	16 P	17 E	18 O
19 F	■	20 C	21 Y	■	22 O	23 G	■	24 L	25 O	26 B	27 H	28 R	29 N	30 S	31 Q	32 E	33 P	■	34 Z
35 H	36 D	37 T	■	38 M	39 U	40 N	41 R	■	42 W	43 Z	■	44 E	45 Y	46 B	■	47 Q	48 V	49 I	50 H
51 D	52 J	■	53 I	54 P	55 U	■	56 J	57 K	58 A	59 X	■	60 B	61 I	62 E	■	63 Y	64 M	65 H	66 I
67 F	■	68 J	69 F	70 I	71 L	■	72 O	73 Z	74 L	75 M	■	76 N	77 Q	78 E	79 R	80 T	81 X	82 U	83 H
■	84 O	85 B	86 U	87 C	88 A	89 Y	90 E	91 K	92 P	93 Q	■	94 T	95 V	96 S	97 N	98 E	■	99 G	100 J
101 E	■	102 C	103 M	104 Y	105 Z	106 B	107 P	108 J	■	109 Q	110 J	■	111 V	112 B	113 C	■	114 Y	115 C	116 E
117 G	118 J	119 M	120 T	121 L	■	122 J	123 G	124 C	■	125 E	126 U	■	127 L	128 P	129 Z	130 M	■	131 F	132 G
133 A	■	134 L	135 C	136 G	■	137 J	138 R	■	139 W	140 V	141 U	■	142 D	143 B	144 A	145 T	146 Q	147 L	148 U
149 V	150 G	151 E	■	152 F	153 L	154 R	155 U	156 Q	157 G	■	158 R	159 G	160 S	161 J	162 N	■	163 G	164 C	■
165 L	166 D	167 H	168 U	169 R	170 F	171 A	172 S	173 B	174 N	■	175 W	176 C	177 Y	178 D	179 A	180 V	181 X	182 U	■
183 F	184 Z	185 G	■	186 C	187 K	188 P	189 W	190 A	■	191 A	192 W	■	193 F	194 A	195 X	■	196 F	197 V	198 Z
199 X	■	200 Z	201 R	■	202 M	203 L	■	204 C	205 Q	206 Y	207 M	208 N	209 K	210 E	211 F	212 X	■	213 W	214 X
215 N	216 F	217 C	218 M	219 Q	220 P	221 S	222 R	■	223 E	224 Z	225 H	226 W	227 Y	228 T	229 J	230 P	231 Q	232 V	233 R

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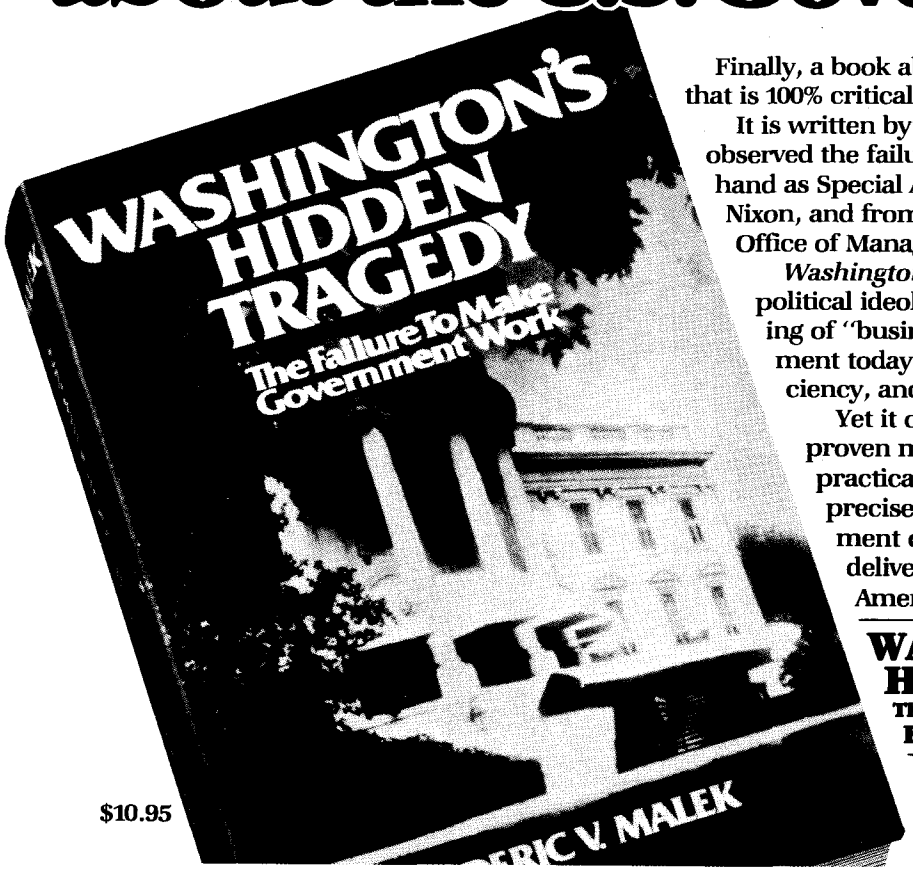
congratulate Fred Malek for saying some nasty things about the U.S. Government.



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